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THE

DESCRIPTION OF GREECE.

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THE

DESCRIPTION OF GREECE,

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BY

PAUSANIAS,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

WITH NOTES,

IN WHICH MUCH OF THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE GREEKS IS UNFOLDED
FROM A THEORY WHICH HAS BEEN FOR MANY AGES UNKNOWN.

ILLUSTRATED

WITH MAPS AND VIEWS.

A NEW EDITION,
WITH CONSIDERABLE AUGMENTATIONS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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THE

DESCRIPTION

OF

GREECE.

BOOK V.

PRIOR ELIACS.

CHAPTER I.

SUCH of the Greeks as divide Peloponnesus into five parts only, acknowledge it is necessary that the Eleans and Arcadians must belong to that part which is possessed by the Arcadians; that the second must be assigned to the Achaians; and that the three remaining parts must be distributed among the Dorienses. But the nations which dwell in Peloponnesus are the native Arcadians and Achaians. Of these, the Achaians were expelled their country by the Dorienses, yet were not driven beyond Peloponnesus: but the Ionians, after they were expelled, inhabited that part of Greece which was formerly called Ægialus, but is now denominated from the Achaians. The Arcadians, however, from the first to the present time have possessed their own dominions; but the other parts have been inhabited by strangers. For the Corinthians of the present day are the most recent of all that dwell in Peloponnesus; and the period during which they have possessed this land, from a

Roman emperor to the present day, is two hundred and seventeen years. The Dryopes, too, and Dorienses came, the former from Parnassus, and the latter from beyond Peloponnesus. We also know, that the Eleans came into this part from Calydon and the rest of Ætolia; the particulars of whose antiquity are as follow:

Æthlius, as they report, first reigned in this land. They say, that he was the son of Jupiter and Protogenia the daughter of Deucalion; that Endymion was the offspring of Æthlius; and that ~~he was beloved~~ by the Moon, and had by the goddess fifty daughters. But those who speak more probably, assert, that Endymion married Asterodia, and that he had by her three sons, Pæon, Epeus, and Ætolus, and one daughter, Eurycyde. But according to some, his wife was the daughter of Itonus, and the grand-daughter of Amphictyon; but, according to others, she was the daughter of Hyperippe, and the grand-daughter of Areas. Endymion proposed to his children a contest in the Olympic race for his kingdom; and Epeus was victor, and obtained it. Hence those over whom he reigned were at first called Epei. But of his brothers they report, that one of them remained with Endymion; but that Pæon, grieving that he had been vanquished, fled to a considerable distance; and that the country above the river Axius was from him denominated Pæonia. With respect to the death of Endymion, the Heracleotæ, who dwell near Miletus, do not agree, in their account of it, with the Eleans. For the Eleans show the tomb of Endymion: but the Heracleotæ say, that he migrated to the mountain Latmus; and, indeed, as a proof of this, there is an adytum of Endymion in this mountain.

Epeus, from Anaxirhoe, the daughter of Coronus, whom he married, had a daughter, Hyrmine, but had not by her any male offspring. During his reign, it happened that Œnomaus, the son of Alxion (or, according to the poets and the vulgar, of Mars), who then reigned about Pisæa, was expelled from his kingdom by Pelops, the son of Lydus, who came thither from Asia. But Pelops, after the death of Œnomaus, obtained Pisæa, and added Olympia, which bordered on Pisæa, and was under the government of Epeus, to his own dominions. The Eleans report, that this Pelops first built a temple to Mercury in Peloponnesus, and sacrificed to the god, in order to appease him for his having put Myrtilus to death. But Ætolus, who reigned after Epeus, was obliged to fly from Peloponnesus, because the sons of Apis called him to account for an involuntary murder which he had committed. For Ætolus slew Apis, the son of Jason, and who was born in Pallantium, an Arcadian town, by running against him with his chariot in the games which are called Azani. From Ætolus, therefore, the son of Endymion, those who dwell about Achelous are called Ætoli, because Ætolus fled to this part of the continent. But Eleus, who was the son of Eurycyde, the daughter of Endymion, and (if it may be believed) whose father was Neptune, reigned over the Epeans: and the present inhabitants, instead of being called Epeans, are denominated from this Eleus. And Augeas was the son of Eleus.

But those that speak magnificently concerning this Augeas, say, that he was not the son of Eleus, but of *Helios*, or *the Sun*. This Augeas had such a quantity of oxen and goats, that the greater part of the land was in an uncultivated state, through the abundance of dung with which it was covered. Hercules, therefore, was persuaded to purify the land from the dung, whether he was to receive a part of Elea for his reward, or was to have some other compensation. Augeas, however, refused to pay Hercules for his undertaking, because he perceived that he accomplished it rather by art than labour. The eldest son of this Augeas, whose name was Phyleus, was ejected by his father, because he used to tell him that he had acted unjustly by a man by whom he had been benefited. This Augeas took care to fortify every place, in case Hercules should lead an army against Elis; and, besides this, entered into an alliance with Amarynceus and the sons of Actor. Amarynceus was a man skilful in warlike concerns: and his father was one Pyttius, a Thessalian, and who came from Thessaly to Elea. Augeas joined this Amarynceus with him in the government: and Actor and his sons, who were natives, were the associates of his reign. For Actor was the son of Phorbas, who was the son of Lapithas; and his mother was Hyrmine, the daughter of Epeus. This Actor, too, built a city in Elea, which was called, from him, Hyrmina.

CHAPTER II.

Hercules, therefore, warred upon Augeas, but did not exhibit any splendid actions in this expedition: for the associates of Hercules were always repulsed through the boldness of the sons of Actor, who were then in the vigour of their age. But when the Corinthians announced the Isthmian games, and the sons of Actor came to behold them, Hercules, by stratagem, slew them in Cleonæ. However, as the author of their death was unknown, Molione, the wife of Actor, made diligent search after the murderer of her sons; and as soon as she learnt who it was, the Eleans demanded of the Argives justice on the person by whom they were slain; for Hercules then dwelt in Tyrintha. But when the Argives denied their request, they tried to persuade the Corinthians to forbid every person that bore an Argolic name, on account of the violated league, from celebrating the Isthmian games. Failing, however, in this design, Molione is said to have fixed dreadful curses on such of her citizens as should be unwilling to refrain from the Isthmian games: and, even at present, the Eleans so religiously observe the imprecations of Molione, that those among them who exercise their bodies in contests similar to the Isthmian, yet never celebrate the Isthmian games.

But there are two different accounts respecting this affair. For, according to some, Cypselus, who tyrannised over the Corinthians, dedicated a golden statue to Jupiter in Olympia, and Cypselus dying before his name was inscribed in the gift, the Corinthians requested of the Eleans that they would permit them to inscribe the name of their city in it. To this, however, the Eleans would not consent; and the Corinthians, enraged at their refusal, forbade them from coming to the Isthmian games. But, if this were the case, how is it to be accounted for that the Corinthians partook of the games in Olympia at the very time when they would not permit the Eleans to join in the Isthmian games? According to others, therefore, Prolaus, who was a man of illustrious rank among the Eleans, and whose wife was Lysippe, had two sons by her, Philanthus and Lampus. These his sons, when they came to the Isthmian games (for they were pancratiastæ among young men), before they engaged in the contest, were either strangled by their adversaries, or slain in some other manner: and hence the imprecations of Lysippe on the occasion, prevented the Eleans from coming to the Isthmian games. The following circumstance, however, shows the futility of this relation: There is a statue in Olympia of Timon, the Elean, who was victor in those five Grecian contests which are called quinquertium; and an elegy, which mentions how many crowns he won. The same inscription, too, indicates the reason why he did not partake of the Isthmian victory. This elegy is as follows:

> "The youth, from conqu'ring in Sisyphian land,
> The dreadful curse of Molione restrain'd."

And thus much may suffice concerning this affair.

CHAPTER III.

HERCULES, however, afterwards took and plundered Elis, having collected an army of Thebans, Argives, and Arcadians. But the Pylians, that were at that time in Elea, and the Pisæi, assisted the Eleans. And Hercules, indeed, took vengeance on the Pylians; but the following Delphic oracle prevented him from warring on the Pisæi. "The country Pisa is the object of my care; and I hold Pytho in the hollow of my hand." This oracle was the safety of the Pisæans. But Hercules gave Elea to Phyleus, being induced to this rather by shame than any voluntary impulse. He also gave to the same person all the captives, and committed to him the punishment of Augeas. At this time the Elean women, in consequence of their country becoming desolate, while they were in the vigour of their age, are said to have prayed to Minerva that they might become pregnant as soon as they had any connexion with men. Their prayer was granted; and they built a temple to Minerva, under the appellation of the Mother. The place, too, in which this first connexion between the men and women happened, is called Bady; and this is the country name of the river which runs through this place. But Phyleus, as soon as he had properly settled the Elean affairs, again returned to Dulichium; and Augeas ended his days, worn out with old age: after which, Agasthenes, the other son of Augeas, together with Amphimachus and Thalpius, assumed the reins of government. For the sons of Actor having married the two daughters of Dexamenus, king of the Olenians, Amphimachus was the offspring of one of them from Theronice, and Thalpius was the son of Eurytus from Therophone.

However, neither Amarynceus, nor Diores, the son of

Amaryncеus, lived a private life; and this is evinced by Homer, in his catalogue of the Eleans. For he says, that their whole fleet consisted of forty ships, the half of which was commanded by Amphimachus and Thelpius; and, of the remaining twenty, Diores, the son of Amaryncеus, led ten, and Polyxenus, the son of Agasthenes, the other ten. But Amphimachus was the offspring of Polyxenus, after his return from Troy. And as it appears to me, Polyxenus gave the boy this name from the friendship which he contracted with Amphimachus, the son of Cteatus, who died in Troy. Eleus was the son of this Amphimachus; and while Eleus reigned in Elis, the Dorienses, with the sons of Aristomachus, having collected together an army, attempted to return into Peloponnesus. An oracle, too, was given to the kings, commanding them in this expedition to follow a three-eyed leader. And, as they were doubting what could be the meaning of the oracle, they met with a man driving a mule which had lost one of its eyes. Upon this, Cresphontes acutely conjectured, that the oracle referred to this man; and the Dorienses accordingly entered into an association with him. This man, however, persuaded them to pass over into Peloponnesus by sea, and not endeavour to make their way through the Isthmus with an army of foot soldiers. He therefore led their fleet from Naupactus to Molycrius. This man was Oxylus, and was the offspring of Hamon, the son of Thoas. But Thoas himself, in conjunction with the sons of Atreus, overturned the kingdom of Priam. The Heraclidæ, too, were in other respects allied to the Ætolian kings, and particularly because Andræmon and Hercules begot Thoas and Hyllus from their own sisters. But Oxylus fled from Ætolia, because, in playing with a quoit, he involuntarily slew with it a man, who, according to some, was Thermius, the brother of Oxylus; but, according to others, Alcidocus the son of Scopius.

CHAPTER IV.

The following circumstance, likewise, is reported of Oxylus. He suspected that the children of Aristomachus, as they knew that Elea was a fertile and well cultivated land, would not be willing to give it him; and, on this account, he led the Dorienses through the realms of Arcadia, and not through Elea And Dius, indeed, did not yield to the desires of Oxylus, who endeavoured to obtain the kingdom of the Eleans without arms; but provoked him, by giving it as his opinion, that they should not endanger themselves by drawing out all their forces, but that they should choose out of each army one soldier for a single combat. This opinion pleased both parties; and on one side Degmenus, the Elean, was chosen for this purpose, who was an archer; and on the other the Ætolian Pyræchmes, who was a slinger. In this contest Pyræchmes was the victor, and Oxylus obtained the government. Oxylus, therefore, suffered the ancient Epeans to possess their own dominions, and joined with them the Ætolians, having equitably distributed the land between them. Besides this, he sacrificed to Jupiter, preserved the ancient honours which were given to the other heroes, and ordered that they should perform funeral sacrifices to Augeas, in that manner which is even observed at present.

It is said, too, that he called together the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, and persuaded them to fix their residence in the city; and that he rendered Elis both larger and more prosperous, by the multitude of its inhabitants, and other particulars which contribute to the felicity of a country. An oracle, likewise, was given to him from Delphos, commanding him to associate to himself one of the race of Pelops. Oxylus, therefore, earnestly inquired after one of this description; and at length found Agorius, the son of Damosius, the grandson of Penthilus, and the great grandson of Orestes, whom he received from Helice, an Achaian city, together with no great band of Achaians. They report, that Pieria was the wife of Oxylus, concerning whom, however, no particulars are mentioned. They say, too, that Ætolus and Laias were the sons of Oxylus; and that Ætolus dying first, his parents buried him in a tomb which they raised in the gate leading to Olympia and the temple of Jupiter. But they buried him in this place in consequence of an oracle, which commanded them to bury him neither within nor yet without the city. The governor of the gymnasium, even at present, performs funeral sacrifices to Ætolus every year. After Oxylus, Laias obtained the government: yet I never could find that any of his posterity reigned; and therefore I shall designedly pass them by, as it is not proper that my discourse should descend to private persons.

In after times, Iphitus, who derived his origin from Oxylus, but who was contemporary with Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonian legislator, established games in Olympia, restored the Olympian public pomp, which is called *Panegyris*, and the times of vacation, all which had been for some time neglected. The cause of this neglect I shall explain when I relate the particulars pertaining to Olympia. But Iphitus, as Greece was then remarkably torn in pieces by intestine seditions and pestilence, thought that they ought to consult the Delphic Apollo about the means of being freed from the evils with which they were oppressed. The god, therefore, answered them, that it was proper Iphitus and the Eleans should restore the Olympic games. Iphitus also persuaded the Eleans to sacrifice to Hercules, though, before this, they considered Hercules as their enemy. But the inscription which is in Olympia asserts, that Iphitus was the son of Hæmon; though the greater part of the

Greeks say, that he was the son of Praxonidas, and not of Hæmon.

The ancient writings, too, of the Eleans refer Iphitus to a father of the same name. But the Eleans partook of the Trojan war, and fought against the Medes when they made an irruption into Greece. And that I may pass over how often they fought with the Pisæans and Arcadians, while they were restoring the Olympic games, they unwillingly, in conjunction with the Lacedæmonians, warred on the Athenians; and not long after, together with the Athenians, Argives, and Mantineans, opposed the Lacedæmonians. When Agis, too, entered their country with an army, through the perfidy of Xenias, the Eleans vanquished him near Olympia, and, putting the Lacedæmonians to flight, drove them from the inclosure of the temple: and, in an after period, a cessation of arms took place, on those conditions which I formerly mentioned in my account of the Lacedæmonian affairs. But Philip, the son of Amyntas, being unwilling to abstain from Greece, the Eleans, who were disturbed by intestine divisions, united with the Macedonians as their associates in war; yet they could not be brought to oppose the Greeks in Chæronea. They assisted Philip, however, in his incursions upon the Lacedæmonians, on account of their ancient hatred to that people. But, on the death of Alexander, they warred, in conjunction with the other Greeks, on Antipater and the Macedonians.

CHAPTER V.

In a following period, Aristotimus, the son of Damaretus, and the grandson of Etymon, reigned in Elea, being assisted in obtaining the empire by Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, and king of the Macedonians. Aristotimus, however, when he had reigned six months, was deprived of the royal authority by Chilon, Hellanicus, Lampis, and Cylon. And when he fled in a suppliant manner to the altar of Jupiter the Saviour, Celon slew him with his own hand. Such, then, were the warlike affairs of the Eleans, which we have cursorily run over, in a manner sufficient for our present purpose. The fine flax which is produced in Elea is a very proper subject of admiration; for it is not to be found in any other part of Greece. And this also is wonderful, that mares bring forth from asses in places beyond the boundaries of Elea, but not within Elea; which circumstance, they say, originated from a certain execration. But the fine flax within Elea is not inferior in tenuity to that of the Hebrews, but it is less yellow. On leaving the Elean land you will arrive at a place near the sea, which is called Samioon: and above this, on the right hand, there is a place called Triphylia, which contains the city Lepreos. The Lepreatæ are now willing to form a part of the Arcadians, though it appears that formerly they were subject to the Eleans; and such of them as conquered in the Olympic games, the cryer announced to be Eleans from Lepreos. Aristophanes likewise asserts, that Lepreos is a town of the Eleans.

But there is a road to Lepreos from Samicus, as you leave the river Anigrus on the left hand: another from Olympia; and a third from Elis. The longest of these is about one day's journey. They report, that the city was denominated from Lepreus, its builder, who was the son of Pyrgeus. It is also said, that Lepreus contended with Hercules in eating; that both of them slew an ox at the same time, and dressed it; and that Lepreus, showing himself to be in no respect inferior to Hercules in eating, had the boldness, after this, to challenge Hercules to a contest with arms. They add, that Lepreus was slain by Hercules in this contest, and that he was buried in the dominions of the Phygaleans; though the Phygaleans cannot tell in what place he was buried. I have heard, too, the origin of the town referred to Leprea, the daughter of Pyrgeus. And there are some who say, that the first inhabitants were infested with the leprosy, and that from this calamity the city derived its name. The Lepreatæ, too, relate, that there was in their city a temple of Leucæan Jupiter, a tomb of Lycurgus, the son of Aleus, of other illustrious persons, and of Caucon. Upon the tomb of this last there was a statue holding a lyre. At present, however, there is neither any monument nor temple remaining, except a temple of Ceres, and this is built from crude tiles, and contains no statue. But not far from the city Lepreatæ there is a fountain called Arene, which was so denominated, as they report, from the wife of Aphareus.

On directing your course again after this towards Samicus, and going through the town, you will see the river Anigrus pouring itself into the sea. The stream of this river is often very much agitated by violent winds. For the sand of the sea, which is brought into it, is collected in a heap at its mouth, and obstructs its passage. When, therefore, the sand becomes wet, both from the sea and the river, it is dangerous for cattle, and still more so for men, to enter into the river. But the Anigrus descends from Lapitha, a mountain of Arcadia, and immediately from its very fountains sends forth water of a very stinking smell. Before this river received into itself another river called Acidas, it is manifest that it did not breed fishes; but after its streams were mingled with those of Acidas, the fishes, which together with the water of Acidas fall into the Anigrus, became not fit to eat, though before their descent they were very good food. That the ancient name, however, of Acidas was Jardanus I cannot by any means prove, but I have heard it asserted by an Ephesian.

With respect to the unusually filthy smell of the water, I am inclined to believe, that it arises from the earth through which the water ascends; just as from this cause, the water above Ionia is so filthy, that the very vapour of it is destructive to mankind. Some of the Greeks assert that Chiron, and others that the Centaur Polenor, being wounded with an arrow by Hercules, fled and washed his wound in the water of this river; and that the foul smell of the Anigrus arose from the poisoned gore of the Hydra. But, according to others, it was produced from Melampus, the son of Amythaon, casting into this river the purifying materials, through which he had been freed from madness by the daughters of Prœtus. In Samicus, too, not far from the river, there is a cavern, which is called the cavern of the Anigridan nymphs. Whoever is troubled with scurf, either white or black, and enters into this river, if he first prays in a proper manner to the Nymphs, then vows a certain sacrifice, and afterwards wipes the diseased parts of his body, will leave his disgraceful malady in the water, and quit the river healthy, and with his skin uniformly clear.

CHAPTER VI.

Having passed over the river of Anigrus, and proceeding along the straight road to Olympia, you will see at no great distance, on the right hand, an elevated place, and above Samicus the city Samia. They report, that Samicus was used as a place of defence against the Arcadians by Polysperchon the Ætolian. But with respect to the ruins of Arene, neither the Messenians nor Eleans appear to me to assert any thing clear; for their conjectures about them are widely different from each other. Those, however, appear to me to speak the most probably, who think that, in the ancient heroic times, Samicus was called Arene. Their opinion, too, is supported by the following verses of Homer in the Iliad:

"The river Minyas, near Arene's plain,
Impetuous rolls his waters to the main."

These ruins are very near Anigrus: and it is doubtful whether Arene has not been called Samicus. The Arcadians, indeed, confess, that Minycius was the ancient name of the river Anigrus. But any one may easily be persuaded, that the maritime parts of Neda form the boundaries of the Eleans and Messenians, from the descent of the Heraclidæ to Peloponnesus. After leaving Anigrus, and proceeding to a greater distance through that part of the country which is mostly covered with sand, and has certain rustic pitch trees, you will see on the left hand the ruins of Scillus. This Scillus was one of the cities in Triphyly; and during the war between the Pisæans and Eleans, the Scilluntii followed the Pisæans, and openly quarrelled with the Eleans, on which account their kingdom was afterwards subverted by the Eleans.

The Lacedæmonians, however, afterwards took Scillus from the Eleans, and gave it to Xenophon the son of Gryllus, who was at that time exiled from Athens. This Xenophon was accused by the Athenians of uniting with Cyrus, who was most inimical to the Athenian people, against the king of the Persians, who was well affected towards them. For when Cyrus was at Sardis, he assisted with money Lysander the son of Aristocritus, and the Lacedæmonians in fitting out their fleet. For this, therefore, Xenophon was banished. But Xenophon, while he resided in Scillus, planted a grove, and built a temple to Diana Ephesia. Scillus affords wild beasts for hunting, and among these boars and stags. The river Selinus, too, flows through the Scilluntian plains. But the Elean historians affirm, that Scillus was again possessed by the Eleans, and that Xenophon, because he had received this country from the Lacedæmonians, was called to account in the Olympic assembly, but that obtaining his pardon from the Eleans, he dwelt unmolested in Scillus. Indeed, not far from the temple of Diana a tomb is to be seen, and a statue of Pentelican stone on the tomb, which the inhabitants say is the statue of Xenophon.

But in the road which leads to Olympia, before you pass over the river Alpheus, and as you come from Scillus, you will see a mountain steep with lofty rocks. This mountain is called Typæus: and it is a law with the Eleans, that those women that have secretly betaken themselves to the Olympic games, or have at all passed over the Alpheus on forbidden days, shall be hurled from this rock. They report, however, that no woman except one Callipatira was ever found to transgress the law. This woman is called by some Pherenice: and they say, that, after the death of her husband, she disguised herself like a man skilled in gymnastic exercises, and went to the Olympic games. Here she engaged with the son of Pisidorus, by whom she was vanquished; and afterwards leaping over the inclosure allotted for the gymnastics, she uncovered, through the leap, a part of her body. This circumstance discovered that she was a woman; but she was pardoned by the judges, in consequence of the reverence which they paid to her father, brothers, and son, all of whom had been victors in the Olympic games. After this a law was enacted, that those who contended in the gymnastic exercises should be naked.

CHAPTER VII.

When you have arrived at Olympia, you will see the river Alpheus flowing with copious and sweet streams, owing to other rivers, and those the most noble, pouring their waters into it. For the Helissus, which flows through Megalopolis, runs into the Alpheus; and Brentheates from the country of the Megalopolitans. But near Gortyna, where there is a temple of Æsculapius, the river Gortynius flows. As you go, too, from the Melænenses, you will see the river Buphagus between Megalopolis and Heraiis; from the Clitorienses, Ladon; and from the mountain Erymanthus, a river of the same name with the mountain. And all these rivers, indeed, descend from Arcadia into the Alpheus. The river Cladæus, too, coming from the Eleans, mingles itself with the Alpheus. The fountains, however, of Alpheus, are not among the Eleans, but in Arcadia. It is said of this river, that it was formerly a man of this name, who was very much addicted to hunting; that he was beloved by Arethusa, who was herself a huntress, but that she refused to marry him, and passed over to an island called Ortygia, near Syracuse, where she was changed into a fountain; and that Alpheus, on account of his love, was changed into a river. And such are the fabulous reports respecting Alpheus and Arethusa. There is no reason, however, why we should disbelieve, that this river, passing through the sea, is mingled with the fountain at Syracuse, since this is asserted by the Delphic Apollo. For when the god ordered Archias the Corinthian to establish a colony in Syracuse, he thus speaks: "A certain island called Ortygia, is situated in the dark sea, above Trinacria, where the mouth of Alpheus pours its streams, and mingles itself with the fountains of Arethusa, which sends forth refreshing gales."

From the water of Alpheus, therefore, mingling itself with that of Arethusa, I am persuaded the fable respecting the love of Alpheus originated. Such, indeed, of the Greeks or Ægyptians as have travelled to Æthiopia above Syene, or to Meroe, a city of the Æthiopians, relate that the Nile, entering into a certain marsh, and gliding through this no otherwise than if it was a continent, flows afterwards through lower Æthiopia into Egypt, till it arrives at Pharos and the sea which it contains. But in the land of the Hebrews, I have seen the river Jordan passing through the lake called Tiber, and afterwards pouring itself into another lake which is denominated the dead sea, and in which it becomes dissolved. This dead sea possesses properties contrary to those of every other water: for living bodies swim in it, though they are not naturally adapted to swim, but dead bodies sink to its bottom. On this account the lake is destitute of fish; as they betake themselves from manifest danger to water adapted to their nature. There is a river, too, in Ionia similar to the Alpheus, the fountains of which are in the mountain Mycale: but this river, having passed through the sea which lies between, rises again in Banchidæ, near the port called Panormus. And such are the circumstances relative to particulars of this kind.

With respect to the Olympic games, such of the Eleans as preserve in their memory the most ancient events, say, that Saturn first obtained the government of Heaven, and that those men who are called the golden race, raised a temple to him in Olympia. That afterwards, when Jupiter was born, his mother Rhea committed him to the care of the Dactyli Idæi, who are also called the Curetes; and that they came from Ida, a mountain in Crete, *their names being Hercules, Pæoneus, Epimedes, Iasius, and Idas.* That Hercules, who was the eldest of them, proposed the contest of the race to his brothers, and crowned the conqueror with the leaves of the wild olive-tree. They farther add, that the Curetes had a great quantity of these leaves, because their beds were composed of them; and that this tree was brought by Hercules from the Hyperboreans to Greece. But that there are men who dwelt above the wind Boreas, Olen the Lycian first asserted in a hymn which he made on Achaia; in which he says, that Achaia came from the Hyperboreans to Delos. Melanopus the Cumæan, after Olen, sings in an ode on Opis and Hecaerge, that these two formerly came from the Hyperboreans to Achaia and Delos. For Aristeas the Proconnesian merely mentions the Hyperboreans, though perhaps he might have known much more concerning them from the Issedonians, whom he says in his verses he visited. The glory, therefore, of having first established the Olympic games, is given to the Idæan Hercules, who also gave them the name of Olympic. On this account, too, they are celebrated every fifth year, because the brothers were five in number. According to some, Jupiter wrestled with Saturn in this place for dominion: but, according to others, Jupiter instituted these games, in consequence of having dethroned Saturn and vanquished the Titans. Some assert, that Apollo once outran Mercury in the course, and vanquished Mars in boxing, and that on this account the music of the Pythian pipe was introduced in the dance of the quinquertium; the verses which are sung to the pipe being sacred to Apollo, and Apollo having bore away the first prize in the Olympic games.

CHAPTER VIII.

Fifty years after the deluge of Deucalion (as they report), Clymenus the son of Cardis, who derived his origin from the Idæan Hercules, coming from Crete, established games in Olympia, and both to the other Curetes and to his ancestor Hercules dedicated an altar, giving to Hercules the appellation of the Adjutor. Endymion the son of Aethlius deprived this Clymenus of the kingdom, and afterwards proposed to his sons in Olympia the contest of the race for its possession. But Pelops, who was posterior to Endymion by one age, established games to Jupiter Olympius, the most memorable of all his predecessors. The sons of Pelops, however, being expelled from Elis, and dispersed through every other part of Peloponnesus, Amythaön the son of Cretheus, and the cousin of Endymion (for they say, that Aethelius was the son of *Æolus*, which is an appellation of *Jupiter*), restored the Olympic games. After him, Pelias and Neleus renewed them in common. They were established by Augeas, and Hercules the son of Amphitryon, who took Elis. But of all those whom Hercules crowned in this place for the victory which they obtained, the first is Iolaus, who rode on the horses of Hercules. Indeed, to contend with the horses of other persons is a very ancient custom: for Homer, in the funeral games of Patroclus, represents Menelaus as using Æthe, one of the horses of Agamemnon, with one of his own. But Iolaus, besides this, was the charioteer of Hercules; and Iolaus conquered in the chariot-race, but Iasius Arcas in that of the single or saddle-horse.

Of the sons of Tyndareus, too, one was victor in the course, and the other with the cæstus. It is also said, that Hercules himself was victor in wrestling, and in the pancratium. But after Oxylus (for he established these games) the Olympic games were neglected till the time of Iphitus; and in consequence of his renewing them, the ancient games were entirely forgotten. However, the Eleans gradually returned to the recollection of them, and whatever they remembered was added to the renovated games. But the truth of this is evinced from hence: from that time in which the Olympiads began to be remembered in a continued series, the first contest was that of the race, in which the Elean Corœbus was victorious. There is not, however, any statue of Corœbus in Olympia, but his tomb is in the borders of the Eleans. Afterwards, in the fourteenth Olympiad, the twofold course was instituted, in which Hypenus Pisæus was victor, and was crowned with wild olive-leaves: but in the following Olympiad, Acanthus. In the eighteenth Olympiad the quinquertium and wrestling were revived, in the former of which Lampis was victor, and in the latter Eurybates, both of whom were Lacedæmonians. But in the twenty-third Olympiad, the contest of the cæstus was instituted, in which Onomastus the Smyrnæan was victor, who was at that time on a journey to the council of the Ionians. After this, in the twenty-fifth Olympiad, the complete horse-race was established; and the Theban Pagondas conquered in the chariot-race. But in the eighth Olympiad from this, they instituted the pancratium, and the contest with a single horse. And Crauxidas, indeed, the Cranonian, was victorious with the horse, but Lygdamis the Syracusan vanquished his adversaries in the pancratium. Of this Lygdamis there is a monument near the stone-quarries. But I have not been able to obtain sufficient evidence, that this Lygdamis was equal in the size of his body to the Theban Hercules, though this is asserted by the Syracusans.

The Eleans, too, instituted games for boys, not from remembrance of ancient games of this kind, but from their own conceptions of their propriety. And the contest of the race and wrestling were instituted in the thirty-seventh Olympiad, in the former of which the Elean Polynices was victor, and in the latter the Lacedæmonian Hippostheus. But in the forty-first Olympiad, boys contended with the cæstus, in which Philitas the Sybarite was victorious. The course of the heavy-armed soldiers was celebrated with great applause in the sixty-fifth Olympiad; and this contest appears to me to have been instituted for the sake of warlike exercise. But of those that run with shields, Demaratus Heræenses was the first that conquered. The course with two horses, which is called *Sunoris*, was established in the ninety-third Olympiad; and in this Evagoras the Elean was victor. In the ninety-ninth Olympiad they contended with chariots drawn by colts; and the crown of victory in this course was given to the Lacedæmonian Sybariades. The course with two mules joined together was afterwards established; and the race with a single mule. And in the contest with two mules, Belistiche, a woman from a part of Macedonia near the sea, was victorious; but in that with a single mule, Tlepolemus the Lycian. Tlepolemus, too, conquered in the one hundred and thirty-first Olympiad, but Belistiche in the third Olympiad prior to this. After this, in the one hundred and forty-fifth Olympiad, the pancratium was instituted for boys, in which the Æolian Phædimus, from the city Troas, was victorious.

CHAPTER IX.

THERE are also some games in Olympia, which the Eleans, in consequence of having altered their opinion, do not any longer celebrate. For the quinquertium of the boys was instituted in the thirty-eighth Olympiad, and the Lacedæmonian Eutelidas was victor in this contest, and received the olive crown; but afterwards the Eleans did not think proper that boys should any longer engage in the quinquertium. With respect to the course with the chariot and walking-horse, the former of these was instituted in the seventieth Olympiad, and the latter in the Olympiad which followed this. Both of these, however, they laid aside in the eighty-fourth Olympiad, and forbade the celebration of them in future. But when these games were first established, Thersius the Thessalian conquered in the chariot-race, and Patæchus Achæus of the city Dyma, in the course with the walking-horse. In the contest with the walking-horse they used mares, from which the riders, when they arrived at the extremity of the course, leaping off, and each catching hold of the bridle belonging to his own mare, ran along with the mares: and this is performed even at present by those who are called *anabatai* or *climbers*. But there is this difference between the course with the walking-horse and the anabatai, that the latter use peculiar ensigns and male horses. But the race with the chariot is neither an ancient invention, nor attended with graceful execution, and the Eleans, who cannot endure this animal the horse, have execrated the breeding it in their country. On this account, in the chariot-race they yoke two mules together instead of horses.

The order of celebrating these games at present is as follows: Having sacrificed victims to the god, they first engage in the quinquertium and the course, and afterwards in the contest with horses; for such is the mode which was established in the seventy-seventh Olympiad, as, prior to this, horses and men contended on the same day. Then the Pancratiastæ make their appearance at night; for they cannot be called in seasonable time, because the day is nearly consumed with the horse races and quinquertium. Among the Pancratiastæ, too, the Athenian Callias bore away the palm of victory. And in after times they took care that neither the quinquertium, nor the contest with horses, should be an obstacle to the pancratium. As to what pertains to the presidents of the games, the same things were not established formerly respecting them as at present: for Iphitus alone presided over the games which he instituted; and after Iphitus, the posterity of Oxylus adopted the same mode. In the fiftieth Olympiad, the care of the games was committed to two men out of the city of the Eleans; and this custom of selecting two persons for this purpose was preserved for many years afterwards. In the twenty-fifth Olympiad after this, nine judges, whom they call Hellanodicai, were created. Three of these presided over the course with horses; the same number over the quinquertium; and the rest over the other games. But in the second Olympiad after this, a tenth president was added; and in the one hundred and third Olympiad the Eleans were divided into twelve tribes; and one judge of the games was appointed out of each tribe. However, the Eleans suffering through the war with the

Arcadians, and losing a part of their country, and all the towns which the land taken from them contained, they were contracted into eight tribes in the one hundred and fourth Olympiad; and in consequence of this Hellanodicai were instituted equal in number to the eight tribes. But in the one hundred and eighth Olympiad, the number of the judges was increased to ten; and this number remains at present.

CHAPTER X.

There are many things, indeed, in Greece which call forth admiration both when seen and related; but the Eleusinian mysteries and the Olympic games must be particularly admirable to such as are endued with divine solicitude about religious concerns. But the sacred grove of Jupiter, by a perversion of name, was formerly called Altis. And, indeed, Pindar, in his ode on a certain Olympic conqueror, calls the place Altis. The Eleans dedicated the temple and statue to Jupiter, from the spoils which they took from the Pisæans and other neighbouring people, when they vanquished them in battle, and plundered Pisa. But that the statue was made by Phidias, is evident from the following inscription at the foot of Jupiter; PHIDIAS THE ATHENIAN, THE SON OF CHARMIDAS, MADE ME. The temple is built after the Doric manner; and the inclosure is a circle of pillars. It is built, too, of Parus, a stone which that country produces. With respect to its altitude, from the bottom area to the eagles, which sustain the roof, there is a distance of sixty-eight feet; its breadth is ninety-five feet; and its length two hundred and thirty. Its architect was Libon, a native of the place; and the roof does not consist of tiles, but of marble from the Pentelican stone-quarries, cut in the shape of tiles. This invention they ascribe to a Naxian the son of Byzas; and they say, that there are statues of him at Naxos with this inscription:

"In Naxos born, and from Latona sprung,
A skilful operator, Byzas' son,
I first taught how to fashion tiles from stone."

This Byzas flourished at the time in which Alyattes reigned in Lydia, and Astyages the son of Cyaxares over the Medes. But at the extremity of the roof in the temple of Olympian Jupiter, a brazen kettle hangs from each side: and in the middle of the roof there is a golden Victory; and beneath her a golden shield, in which the head of the Gorgon Medusa is sculptured. The following inscription, too, is in the shield, in which the persons by whom, and the reason for which it was dedicated, are unfolded:

"Th' Athenians, Argives, and Ionians tamed,
Tanagras' sons this golden bowl have placed
A sacred gift, of all their spoils the tenth,
For vict'ry with their friends the Spartans gain'd."

This battle I have mentioned in my account of the Attic affairs, and in that part in which I related the particulars respecting the sepulchres of the Athenians. In the same temple, too, of Olympian Jupiter, to the zone which spreads itself round above the pillars, golden shields are fixed, twenty-one in number, which were dedicated by the Roman general Mummius, after he had vanquished the Achaians in battle, taken Corinth, and expelled from their country the Corinthians that bore a Doric name. In the front part of the top of the temple, the equestrian contest of Pelops against Oenomaus is represented; and each seems preparing himself for the course. But on the right hand of the statue of Jupiter, which nearly stands about the middle of the summit, there is a statue of Oenomaus with a helmet on his head: and near him you may perceive his wife Sterope, who was one of the daughters of Atlas. Myrtilus the charioteer of Oenomaus is seated before the horses. The horses, too, are four in number: and after Myrtilus there are two men whose names are not mentioned, but they appear to be those to whom Oenomaus committed the care of his horses. Near the top of the temple the river Cladeus is represented; for this river is honoured by the Eleans next to Alpheus. On the left hand of the statue of Jupiter, Pelops and Hippodamia are represented, together with the charioteer of Pelops, the horses, two men, and the grooms of Pelops. In this part the top of the temple contracts itself, and contains a representation of the river Alpheus. And the Troezenians report, that the name of the charioteer of Pelops was Sphærus; but the historians of the Olympian affairs say, that his name was Cillas.

Whatever, therefore, the front part of the summit contains, is the work of Pæonius, who was born at Mende, a Thracian town; but all that is in the back part is the work of Alcamenes, a man who lived in the time of Phidias, and was the next to him in the art of making statues. Within the summit the Lapithæ are represented fighting with the Centaurs at the marriage of Pirithous. In the middle part is Pirithous: and near him you may see Eurythion forcibly taking away the wife of Pirithous, and Cæneus assisting Pirithous. In another part Theseus is seen revenging himself on the Centaurs with an ax: and there are two Centaurs, one of whom carries away a virgin, and the other a boy in the flower of his youth. It appears to me that Alcamenes made these, having learnt, from the poems of Homer, that Pirithous was the son of Jupiter, and knowing that Theseus was the fourth descendant from Pelops. In this temple, too, many of the labours of Hercules are represented: for above the doors you may see the hunting of the Erymanthian boar; what is reported concerning Diomed of Thrace; and the transactions of Hercules in Erythea against Geryon. Besides these, Hercules is represented as about to take upon himself the burden of Atlas; and is seen purifying the land of the Eleans from dung. But above the back part of the doors, he is represented taking away the girdle of Amazon; and whatever is related about the stag and the Gnossian bull, the Lernæan hydra, the Stymphalian birds, and the Nemean lion, is there expressed. On entering, too, within the brazen doors, you will see, on the right hand, before a pillar, Iphitus receiving a crown from a woman of the name of Ecechiria, as the elegy upon her shows. Within the temple there are pillars which sustain porches at a considerable height from the ground. Through these there is a passage to the statue of Jupiter, and they afford a winding entrance to the roof of the temple.

CHAPTER XI.

But the god sits on a throne of ivory and gold, and is adorned with a crown on his head, made in imitation of a branch of the wild olive-tree. In his right hand he holds a Victory, which is also made of ivory and gold, and has a fillet and crown on its head. His left hand wields a sceptre of beautiful workmanship, and in the composition of which all metals are blended together. The bird which sits on his sceptre is an eagle. The sandals of the god, and his robe, are of gold; and in the latter of these, various animals, and of flowers the lily, are represented. The throne itself is variegated with gold and precious stones, with ebony and ivory; and is adorned with pictures of animals and statues. It contains, too, four Victories, each of which is represented dancing at the foot of the throne. There are also two other Victories at the extremities of his feet. Before his feet the Theban youth are seen, forced away by Sphinxes; and under the Sphinxes, Apollo and Diana are piercing with their arrows the children of Niobe. Between his feet, which decline from the throne, there are four rules of a foot in length, each of which reaches from one foot to the other.—

In the rule which first presents itself to the view on entering in a straight direction, there are seven statues, which remain entire even at present; for the cause by which the eighth of them was abolished is unknown. These statues are imitations of ancient contests; for in the age in which Phidias lived, the games of the boys were not established. Of these statues, that which is represented binding his hair with a fillet, is, they say, like Pantarces, an Elean youth who was enamoured with Phidias. And this same Pantarces obtained the victory in the Olympic games, in the eighty-sixth Olympiad.

In the other rules a band of warriors are represented fighting with Hercules against the Amazons. The number of the forces on each side is twenty-nine: and Theseus is seen among those that fight on the side of Hercules. This throne, too, is not alone supported by feet, but pillars equal in magnitude to the feet stand between the feet of the god. It is, however, impossible to penetrate under the throne, and behold what it contains, in the same manner as within that of Apollo at Amyclæ; for in order to prevent the spectators from approaching nearer, certain inclosures are raised after the manner of walls. Of these inclosures, that part which is opposite to the gates is only painted of an azure colour, but the other parts contain pictures painted by Panænus. Among these there is Atlas sustaining Heaven and Earth; and Hercules stands by him, in the attitude of one willing to receive the burden from Atlas. There are Theseus, too, Pirithous, Greece, and Salamis holding in her hand the ornaments which are usually added to the extremities of ships. Besides these, the contest of Hercules with the Nemean lion; the base conduct of Ajax towards Cassandra; Hippodamia the daughter of Oenomaus with her mother; Prometheus yet detained in fetters, and Hercules beholding him: for it is said of Hercules, that he slew the eagle which tormented Prometheus in Caucasus, and freed Prometheus from his bonds. The last things which are represented in the picture are Penthesilea dying, and Achilles supporting her; and the Hesperides, with the apples which are said to have been committed to their care. Panænus, the painter of these, was the brother of Phidias, who also painted for the Athenians, in their porch, the battle at Marathon.

For the highest parts of the throne, above the head of the statue, Phidias made on one side three Graces, and on the other as many Hours: for, according to poets, the Hours are the daughters of Jupiter. And Homer, in the Iliad, not only mentions the Hours, but says, that Heaven is committed to their care, as to certain guardians of a royal abode. In the base, which is under the feet of Jupiter, and which they call *Thranion*, or *the support of the feet*, there are golden lions, and a representation of the battle of Theseus against the Amazons, which was the first engagement of the Athenians against foreign nations. But in that base which supports the throne and the mountain, other ornaments are placed about Jupiter. For here you may behold, in gold, Apollo ascending into his chariot; Jupiter and Juno, and one of the Graces; after which follows Hermes, and after Hermes, Vesta. After Vesta, too, you may perceive Love receiving Venus rising out of the sea, and the goddess Persuasion crowning her. In the same picture, likewise, Apollo, together with Diana, Minerva, and Hercules, are represented. Near the end of the base you may perceive Amphitrite and Neptune, and the Moon driving, as it appears to me, a horse; though some assert, that the goddess is drawn by a mule, and not by a horse. There is also a report, that the animal by which she is drawn is a stupid mule.

I know, too, that some have described the measure, in length and breadth, of the Olympian Jupiter; but I cannot praise these measurers, because the measure which they deliver may be easily confuted by the testimony of the eyes. They report, indeed, that the god himself evinced his approbation of the art of Phidias; for, as soon as the statue was finished, Phidias prayed to Jupiter, and entreated him to signify if the work was pleasing to his divinity; and immediately after he had prayed, they say, that part of the pavement was struck with lightning, where even at present a brazen urn is to be seen, with a covering upon it. But that part of the pavement which is before the statue is covered with black, and not with white stone. This black pavement is circularly inclosed with a fountain of Parian marble, which is the repository of oil. For the statue of Jupiter is rubbed over with oil, in order to prevent the ivory from suffering any injury through the marshy nature of the grove. On the contrary, in the tower of the Athenians, water and not oil is found to be useful to the statue of Minerva, who is called the virgin. For as the tower is in a very squalid condition, through its great height, the statue, which is made of ivory, requires to be sprinkled over with water. But when I was in Epidaurus, and inquired why neither water nor oil was used for cleansing the statue of Æsculapius, I was informed, by those about the temple, that the statue of the god, and the throne on which it stands, are placed over a well.

CHAPTER XII.

Such as are of opinion that the prominences from the mouth of the elephant are teeth, and not horns, should look at the Celtic elk, and the Æthiopian bulls; for the male elks have horns over their eye-brows, but the female have no horns; and the Æthiopian bulls have horns growing out of their nostrils. Is it, therefore, a very wonderful circumstance, that horns should grow out of the mouth of an animal? To this, also, we may add, that the elephant is an animal which, at certain periods, sheds its horns, and new ones afterwards spring up in the place of the old; and this circumstance happens to stags and goats, as well as to elephants. But teeth do not, in any adult animal, grow again after they have fallen out. If, therefore, these prominent parts in the elephant were teeth, and not horns, how could they grow again when lost? Besides, teeth will not yield to fire; but the horns of oxen and elephants can be so softened by fire, that they can be changed from a round into a flat figure, or be made to assume any other shape. To which we may add, that, in river-horses and boars, the lower jaw-bone has certain prominent parts; and we see that horns grow out of their jaw-bones. It may, therefore, be confidently affirmed, that those parts in an elephant which commence upwards through the temples, and afterwards issue externally, are horns. This I write, not from report, but in consequence of having seen an elephant's skull in the temple of Diana in Campania. This temple is distant from Capua about thirty stadia: and Capua is the metropolis of Campania.

But the elephant is different from other animals, both in the growth of its horns, and the size and form of its body. The Greeks, too, appear to me to have been magnificent in their reverence of the gods, and not sparing of their possessions, from this circumstance, that they took care to procure ivory from India and Æthiopia for the statues of their gods. But in the temple of Olympian Jupiter, king Antiochus dedicated a woollen veil, adorned with Assyrian weaving, and the purple of the Phœnicians. The same person, too, gave the golden Ægis, which is to be seen above the theatre at Athens, and, besides this, the Gorgon, which the same place contains. The veil in the temple is not raised towards the roof, like that in the temple of Ephesian Diana, but is let down by ropes on the pavement. But among the gifts which are placed either within or in the vestibule of the temple, there is a throne of Arimnus, king of the Etrusci, who was the first of the Barbarians that sent a gift to the Jupiter in Olympia. There are also brazen horses, which Cynisca dedicated as marks of a victory in the Olympic games. These horses are not so large as real ones, and they are placed in that part of the vestibule which is on the right hand as you enter. In this place, too, there is a brazen tripod, upon which, before the table is laid, crowns are placed for conquerors. With respect to the statues of the Roman emperors, that of Adrian was dedicated by the Achaian cities, and that of Trajan by all the Greeks. This last emperor added the Getæ, a people above Thrace, to the Roman dominions, and warred on Osroes, the grandson of Arsaces, and king of the Parthians.

But among the works with which Trajan adorned the city, the most magnificent are the baths, which bear his name; a circular theatre of great magnitude; an hippodromus of two stadia in length; and a Roman forum, which deserves to be inspected for its ornament, and especially for its brazen roof. Among other particulars belonging to this forum, there are two statues in the round parts of the building, one of Augustus Cæsar, of amber; the other of Nicomedus, king of Bithynia, of ivory. From this king the greatest city in Bithynia derived its name, which before this was called Astacus. It is said, too, to have been built by Zypoetes, a Thracian, as may be conjectured from his name. The amber, from which the statue of Augustus is made, is casually found among the sands of the river Eridanus. It is found, too, very rarely, and is much esteemed. Otherwise amber is gold mingled with silver. But in the temple of Olympian Jupiter there are crowns, which Nero dedicated: of these, the third in order imitates the leaves of the wild olive-tree; the fourth, the leaves of the oak. In this temple, too, there are twenty-five brazen shields, which are carried by those that contend armed in the course. Other pillars, too, are placed there, and that which contains the oath given by the Athenians, Argives, and Mantinenses, to assist the Eleans in war for one hundred years.

CHAPTER XIII.

WITHIN Altis, in Olympia, there is a grove sacred to Pelops, which was once honoured; for, among the Eleans, Pelops is as much reverenced above the other heroes in Olympia, as Jupiter above the other gods. On the right hand, therefore, of the entrance to the temple, and towards the north, is this sacred grove, which is called Pelopium. It is distant from the temple a space sufficient to admit statues and other ornaments; and extends from the middle of the temple to its back parts. It is also inclosed with a bulwark of stones, and contains trees and statues. The entrance, too, into this grove is from the west. Hercules, the son of Amphitryon, is said to have dedicated this to Pelops, from whom he was the fourth descendant. The same Hercules, too, is reported to have sacrificed to Pelops, at that ditch where, even at present, the magistrates every year sacrifice to him a black ram. Of this victim no portion is given to the priest; but the neck alone is given to the wood-carrier. This wood-carrier is one of the domestics of Jupiter; and his employment consists in supplying wood for sacrifice, for a certain price, either for cities at large, or private persons. This wood, however, is not procured from any other tree than that of the white poplar. And if any person, whether an Elean or a stranger, eats of the flesh of the victim sacred to Pelops, it is not lawful for him to enter the temple of Jupiter. The same manner of sacrifice is adopted at Pergamus, which is above Caicus. For here, those that sacrifice to Telephus are not permitted to ascend into the temple of Æsculapius till they have washed themselves.

The following circumstance, too, is reported of Pelops: When the war against Troy became so extended, the prophets told the Greeks, that the city could not be taken till they brought away with them the arrows of Hercules, and the bones of Pelops. Hence, they say, Philoctetes was called into the camps; and of the bones of Pelops, they brought the shoulder-blade from Pisa. But as the Greeks were returning home, they were shipwrecked near Eubœa, and the ship that carried the bones of Pelops was lost in the storm. Many years after this, and after Troy was taken, Demarmenus, an Eretriensian fisherman, having thrown his net into the sea, drew up the bone of Pelops, and wondering at its magnitude, concealed it in the sand. At last he came to Delphos, and inquired whose bone it was, and what he should do with it. But then, through the providential interposition of divinity, certain persons were present, whom the Eleans had sent to inquire by what means they might be freed from the pestilence with which they were afflicted. The Pythian deity, therefore, gave them for answer, an injunction to preserve the bones of Pelops, and ordered Demarmenus to give to the Eleans what he had found. Demarmenus, therefore, on complying with the oracle, both received other gifts from the Eleans, and the care of the bone was committed to him and his posterity. This bone of Pelops is not to be found at present, on account, as it appears to me, of its having been buried very deep in the ground, and wasted away through length of time and the washing of the sea.

Evident tokens, indeed, even exist at present of Tantalus and Pelops having brought a colony into Greece. For there is a port called after the name of Tantalus, and a sepulchre of him by no means obscure: and there is a throne of Pelops on the summit of the mountain Sipylus, above the temple of the mother Plastene. But when you have passed over the river Hermus, you will see in the town Temnus a statue of Venus, made from a female myrtle. This statue was dedicated by Pelops, both for the purpose of worshipping the goddess, and obtaining Hippodamia in marriage. The altar, too, of Olympian Jupiter is at an equal distance from the grove of Pelops and the temple of Juno, and is placed in the front of both. According to some, it was raised by the Idæan Hercules; but according to others, by certain heroes, natives of the country, two ages after Hercules. This altar was made from the ashes collected from the burnt thighs of the victims, like the altar in Pergamus. The altar, too, of the Samian Juno is raised from ashes; and is not, in any respect, more elegant than those altars in the Attic region, which the Athenians call *temporary*. But the base of the Olympic altar, which they call *Prothysis*, or *the first station of sacrifice*, takes up a circumference of one hundred and twenty-five feet; and the ambit of each of the parts above the prothysis is thirty-two feet. The whole height of the altar is twenty-two feet. With respect to the victims, they are led to the base of the altar, and there sacrificed after the manner of the country. The thighs are burnt on the top of the altar; and there are stone steps on each of its sides, which lead to the prothysis; but steps of ashes lead from the prothysis to the top of the altar.

Indeed, both virgins and other women, when they come to Olympia, are not restrained from ascending to the prothysis; but men alone are permitted to ascend from this part to the top of the altar. But both strangers and the Eleans every day sacrifice to Jupiter, without any public pomp. Every year, however, on the nineteenth of the month Elaphius, or March, the prophets carry the ashes from the Prytaneum, and having washed them in the river Alpheus, scatter them over the altar. But it is impossible for any other river except the Alpheus to turn the ashes into mud; and on this account the Alpheus is considered as the most friendly of all rivers to Olympian Jupiter. There is also an altar in the Didymæ of the Milesians, which was raised, as the Milesians report, by the Theban Hercules from the blood of victims. In after times, however, the blood of victims was not sufficient to raise altars of a considerable magnitude.

CHAPTER XIV.

But the altar in Olympia exhibits, likewise, the following wonderful circumstance. Kites, though they are naturally very rapacious birds, offer no violence to those that sacrifice in Olympia. And if it ever happens that a kite seizes the entrails or a part of the flesh, it is considered as an ill omen to the person that sacrifices. They say, also, that when Hercules, the son of Alcmene, sacrificed in Olympia, he was very much disturbed with flies. In consequence of this, either from his own invention, or through the admonition of some other person, he sacrificed to Jupiter *Apomyius*, or *the expeller of flies:* and hence the flies fled beyond the Alpheus. The Eleans, too, are said from this to sacrifice to Jupiter Apomyius, as to one who drove away flies from Olympia. But the Eleans do not think it proper to use any other wood in sacrifice than that of the white poplar. And it appears to me, that they principally honour this tree, because Hercules first brought it from Thesprotia into Greece. I am also of opinion, that Hercules, when he sacrificed to Jupiter in Olympia, burnt the thighs of the victims with white poplar. This wood, too, was found by Hercules in Thesprotia, near the river Acheron: and they say, that this is the reason why the poplar is called by Homer Acheroides. There always, indeed, have been, and even now there are rivers adapted to the production of grass and trees. Thus the banks of the Mæander are particularly favourable to the growth of tamarisks; the Bœotian Asopus naturally produces bulrushes of a great magnitude; and the Persean tree alone rejoices in the waters of the Nile. It is by no means, therefore, wonderful, that the white poplar should grow first of all by the side of the river Acheron; and the black poplar on the banks of the Celtic Eridanus, and in the country of the Gauls.

Let us, however (neglecting any farther account of the great altar), direct our discourse to all the altars in Olympia, that we may relate the order of them, and what divinities the Eleans think proper to sacrifice to upon them. They first of all, then, sacrifice to Vesta; in the next place to Olympian Jupiter, and these two altars are within the temple; in the third place, to Mercury; in the fourth place, to Minerva; in the fifth place, to Diana; and, in the sixth place, to Ergane. The posterity of Phidias, who are called Phædryntæ, and who are, by the Eleans, entrusted with the care of purifying the statue of Jupiter from adventitious filth, sacrifice to Ergane before they begin to give a bright polish to the statue. There is also another altar of Minerva, near the temple; and after it of Diana, which is in a quadrangular form, and has a gradual elevation. After these altars, which we have enumerated, they sacrifice upon one altar to Alpheus and Diana. The reason of this is evinced by Pindar, in one of his odes, and is mentioned by us, in our account of the Letrinæan affairs. Not far from this altar there is another altar, raised to Alpheus; and near it, one to Vulcan. This altar of Vulcan is called, by some of the Eleans, the altar of Martial Jupiter. The same persons, too, report, that Œnomaus sacrificed on this altar to Martial Jupiter, as often as he proposed the contest with horses to the suitors of his daughter Hippodamia.

After this, there is an altar to Hercules, under the appellation of *Parastates*, or *the helper;* and to his brothers, Epimedes, Idas, Pæoneus, and Jasus. I know, too, that the altar of Idas is called by others that of Acesidas. But in that place which contains the foundations of the house of Œnomaus, there are two altars of Jupiter; one to Jupiter Herceus, which was dedicated by Œnomaus; and the other to Jupiter Ceranius, which, as I conjecture, was afterwards placed by Œnomaus, when his house was burnt by lightning. The particulars of the great altar, which is called that of Olympian Jupiter, we have related above: and near this is the altar of *the unknown gods*. After this, there is an altar of Jupiter, *the purifier*, and of Victory; and, again, of Jupiter, who is called *terrestrial*. There are, also, altars of all the gods, together with an altar of Juno, under the appellation of Olympia, which is raised from ashes. They report, that this altar was dedicated by Clymenus. After this, there is an altar of Apollo and Mercury in common, because, according to the Greeks, *Mercury* invented *the lyre*, and *Apollo the harp*. The altars of Concord, Minerva, and the Mother of the Gods, succeed to these.

Likewise, near the entrance of the stadium, there are two altars: one of these they call the altar of Mercury *Enagonius*, or *the athletic*, and the other of Opportunity. I know that there is a hymn of Chius to Opportunity, in which he says, that this god is the youngest son of Jupiter. But near the treasury of the Sicyonians there is an altar either of the Curetes, or of Hercules, the son of Alcmene; for it is ascribed to each of these. In that part which is called Gaius there is an altar of Earth, which is raised from ashes. And in former times they report, that there was an oracle of Earth in this place. But in that part which they call *Stomium*, or *the gate*, there is an altar of Themis. The altar of Jupiter *Catæbatas*, or *the descender*, is inclosed on all sides; and is near the great altar, which is raised from ashes. Let the reader, however, be careful to remember that I have not enumerated the altars in the order in which they stand, but according to the order observed by the Eleans in sacrificing upon them. Near the grove, too, of Pelops, there is an altar in common to Bacchus and the Graces; and between these there are two altars, one to the Muses, and the other to the Nymphs.

CHAPTER XV.

There is a building beyond Altis, which is called the workshop of Phidias; and in this place Phidias fashioned every part of the statue of Jupiter. In this building, too, there is an altar of all the gods in common. This altar, as you turn back again to Altis, is opposite to the Leonidæum. But the Leonidæum is a building beyond the inclosure of the temple. Near this there is a passage to Altis, through which alone the pomp of the sacred festivals passes; and the entrance, on this account, is called Pompic. This building, the Leonidæum, was the sacred gift of one Leonidas, a native of the place; and, at present, is the residence of those Romans that govern Greece. Agyia, too, is situated between the Pompic road and the Leonidæum; for the Eleans signify by this name the same as the Athenians by *Stenopos*, or *a narrow passage*. In Altis, too, beyond the Leonidæum, as you turn to the left hand, you will see an altar of Venus, and after it an altar of the Hours. Behind the temple, and principally on the right hand, there is a wild olive-tree, which they call *Callistephanos*, or *bound with a beautiful crown*. Crowns are made from this for those that are victors in the Olympic games. Near this wild olive-tree there is an altar sacred to the Nymphs; and these Nymphs they call Callistephanoi.

Within Altis, too, there is an altar of Diana *Forensis*, or *the judicial;* and this is on the right hand of the Leonidæum. There is also an altar to *Despoina*, or *the mistress*. The particulars respecting this goddess I have unfolded in my account of the Arcadian affairs. After this, there is an altar of Jupiter Forensis: and before that place which they call *Proedria*, or *the prerogative seat*, there is an altar of Pythian Apollo, and after it of Bacchus. They report, that this last altar is neither ancient, nor raised by any other than private persons. As you go, too, to that place from which the horses start, there is an altar with this inscription: *Moirageta*, or *the leader of the Parcæ*. It is evident, therefore, that this is an appellation of Jupiter, who both knows what the Parcæ give, and what they do not destine to mankind. An oblong figure is near the altar of the Parcæ. After this, there is an altar of Mercury, and next to it there are two altars of Jupiter the most high. In the place from whence the horses start, in the middle part, and in the open air, there are altars of equestrian Neptune and equestrian Juno: and near the pillar there is an altar of the Dioscuri. In the first entrance, too, of that place which they call *Embolos*, or *the beak of a ship*, there is an altar of equestrian Mars, and another of equestrian Minerva. After you have entered within the Embolos, there are altars of Good Fortune, of Pan, and Venus. But in the most inward part of the Embolos, there is an altar of the Nymphs whom they call *Acmenai*, or *flourishing*.

On returning from that porch which the Eleans call Agaptos, from the name of the architect, you will see, on the right hand, an altar of Diana. And on again entering Altis, through the Pompic way, you will see, behind the temple of Juno, the river Cladæus, and altars of Diana. After these, there is an altar of Apollo; a fourth altar, which is that of Diana Coccoca; and a fifth, of Apollo Thermios. What this name signifies is not difficult to conjecture, since the same word is usurped in the Attic tongue.

But why they call Diana Coccoca, I have not been able to learn. There is a building here, before that edifice which they call Theecaleon. In a corner of this building there is an altar of Pan. The Eleans, too, have their Prytaneum within Altis, which is built near that passage which is beyond the gymnasium. In this gymnasium courses are celebrated, and the Athletæ exercise themselves in wrestling. Before the vestibule of the Prytaneum there is an altar of rustic Diana; and in the Prytaneum itself, when you have entered that building which contains the Vestal hearth, you will see an altar of Pan on the right hand of the entrance. The Vestal hearth here is raised from ashes, and a fire is kept burning on it, without ceasing, day and night. From this hearth they carry ashes to the altar of Olympian Jupiter, as I have before observed; and the ashes brought from this hearth afford by no means the smallest contribution to the magnitude of the altar of Jupiter.

Every month the Eleans sacrifice on all the altars we have enumerated, after the ancient manner: for they sacrifice with frankincense, and wheat mingled with honey. They place, too, on these altars olive branches, and use wine for a libation. They do not, however, think it proper to make a libation with wine to the Nymphs, nor to the goddesses called Despoinai, nor when they sacrifice on the common altar of all the gods. Such things, too, as are proper for the sacrifice every month, are taken care of by the *Theecolos*, or *minister of the gods*; likewise by the prophets, those that preside over the libations, the interpreter of the sacrifices, the person that plays on the pipe, and the wood-carrier. I do not, however, think it proper to insert, in the present history, an account of what they say during their libations in the Prytaneum, and of what hymns they sing. But they do not only make libations to the Grecian divinities, but to those that are worshipped in Libya, to Ammonian Juno, and Parammon, which is an appellation of Mercury. They appear, too, to have used, from a most ancient period, the oracle in Libya; and there are even yet altars in the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which were dedicated by the Eleans. Upon these altars it is signified in writing about what the Eleans consulted, what answers they received, and the names of the men that came from the temple to Elis. But the Eleans also make libations to the heroes and their wives; as well to those that are honoured in Elea, as those that are reverenced by the Ætolians. The verses, too, which they sing in the Prytaneum are composed in the Doric tongue; but they cannot tell by whom they were composed. The Eleans likewise have a banqueting place within the Prytaneum, opposite to that building which contains the Vestal hearth: and in this banqueting place they feast the conquerors in the Olympic games.

CHAPTER XVI.

It now remains that we should speak about the temple of Juno, and whatever it contains worthy of relation. It is said, by the Eleans, that the Scilluntii, who belong to one of the cities in Triphylia, raised the temple nearly eight years after Oxylus reigned over the Eleans. The temple is built after the Doric fashion, and is on all sides surrounded with pillars. In the back part of the temple one of these pillars is made of oak: and the temple itself is sixty feet long. They cannot, however, tell who was its architect. Sixteen women, too, every fifth year weave a veil for Juno, and establish Junonian games. In these games virgins contend in the course, who are distributed into classes, according to their age. For the youngest run in the first place; after these, those that are next to them in age; and last of all the oldest of the virgins. But they run in the following manner: Their hair is dishevelled; their garments extend no lower than a little above the knee; and their right shoulder is uncovered as far as to their breast. They are permitted to contend in the Olympic stadium, but the sixth part of it nearly is taken away for the convenience of their course. Those that conquer are crowned with olive leaves, and receive a part of the ox which was sacrificed to Juno. They are likewise permitted to dedicate pictures of themselves. Sixteen women preside over these games, and these are attended by the same number of servants. They refer, too, the contests of these virgins to ancient institutions. For they report that Hippodamia, in order to show her gratitude to Juno for the nuptials of Pelops, instituted these games, and collected together sixteen women for this purpose.

They farther relate, that Chloris, the daughter of Amphion, who was the only survivor of the family, obtained the victory, and that one of her male relations conquered in conjunction with her. With respect to the children of Niobe, whatever I knew concerning them I unfolded in my account of the Argive affairs. And as to what pertains to the sixteen women, the following circumstance is reported about them, in addition to what I have already related. When Demophon reigned in Pisa, the Eleans suffered many and great calamities. After his death, an opportunity was afforded the Eleans of equitably contending with the Pisæi about the injuries which they had received from them. It was, therefore, agreed upon by the Eleans at that time, that, as there were sixteen cities in Elea, a woman should be chosen out of each to determine the dispute between them and the Pisæi; and that this woman should be one that surpassed the rest in age, dignity, and renown. Sixteen women, therefore, being chosen out of as many cities in Elis, decided the difference between the Eleans and Pisæi.

The same women, too, were afterwards intrusted with the care of the Junonian games, and were assigned the employment of weaving the veil of Juno.

Besides this, these sixteen women instituted two choirs, one of which they call the choir of Physcoa, and the other of Hippodamia. They say, that Physcoa came from a place in Elis, which is called *the hollow*; that she dwelt in a part of Elis called Orthia; that she had a son by Bacchus, whose name was Narcæus; and that Narcæus, as soon as he had arrived at years of maturity, warred on his neighbours, became very powerful, and built a temple to Minerva, under the appellation of Narcæa. They farther add, that honours were first paid to Bacchus by this Narcæus. Among other honours, too, which are paid to Physcoa, another choir, besides that of the sixteen women, receives from her its appellation. The Eleans likewise preserve the number of the women, viz. sixteen, though they do not select them from the like number of cities: for as they are distributed into eight tribes, they choose two women out of each tribe. However, neither the sixteen women, nor the judges of the Elean contests, exercise any part of their function till they have purified themselves with a piacular hog, and lustral water from the fountain Piera. This fountain is in the plains which lead from Olympia to Elis. And such are the circumstances relative to particulars of this kind.

CHAPTER XVII.

In the temple of Juno there is a statue of Jupiter; and the image of Juno sits on a throne, but that of Jupiter stands near it, having a beard, and being armed with an helmet. The artifice of these statues is rude. But the statues of the Seasons, which are next to these, and which are seated on thrones, were made by Emilus Ægineta. The statue of Themis which follows these (for she is the mother of the Seasons) was made by Doryclidas the Lacedæmonian, who was the disciple of Dipoenus and Scyllis. But the Hesperides, who are five in number, were made by Theocles the Lacedæmonian, who is said to have been the son of Hegylus, and the disciple of the same Dipoenus and Scyllis. The statue of Minerva, with a helmet on her head, and holding a spear and shield, is said to have been the work of the Lacedæmonian Medon. It is farther reported, that he was the brother of Doryclidas, and had the same masters. The statues of Ceres, Proserpine, Apollo, and Diana, stand opposite to each other. But that of Apollo is directly opposed to Diana. In this temple, too, there are statues of Latona, Fortune, Bacchus, and a winged Victory. I have not been able to learn who were the artists of these; but they appear to me to be very ancient. And all those that I have hitherto mentioned are made of ivory and gold.

In after times other statues were dedicated in the temple of Juno, viz. a Mercury of stone, carrying an infant Bacchus, the work of Praxiteles; and a brazen Venus the work of the Sicyonian Cleon. Antiphanes was the master of this Cleon; and Antiphanes was instructed in his art by Pericletus, who was the disciple of the Argive Polycletus. A naked boy of gold sits at the feet of Venus; and this was the work of the Carthaginian Boethus. The following, likewise, were brought hither from a building called Philippeum; Eurydice the wife of Philip, and a chest; the former of which is made of ivory and gold, and the latter of cedar. But of the animals upon the chest, some are made of ivory, some of gold, and some of cedar. Cypselus the tyrant of Corinth, as soon as he was born, was concealed in this chest by his mother, on account of the Bacchidæ diligently searching for him, in order to put him to death. And his posterity afterwards, who were called Cypselidæ, dedicated this chest in Olympia, on account of the preservation of Cypselus. But at that time the Corinthians called *chests*, *Cypselai:* and from hence, they say, the boy came to be called Cypselus. The inscriptions, too, which are seen on the chest, are for the most part written in ancient characters. And of these characters some are straight, but others are in that shape which the Greeks call *Boustrophedon*, from *the bending of oxen when plowing*. But they are bent as follows: From the end of one verse another follows in a retrograde order, just as in the course of the repeated stadium. There are, likewise, other inscriptions on the same chest, which are written in winding characters difficult to be understood.

If you begin to examine this chest from the bottom parts, you will first of all see Œnomaus pursuing Pelops, who is carrying away Hippodamia. Each is carried by two horses, but the horses of Pelops are winged. After these, the house of Amphiaraus is represented, and a certain old woman bearing in her arms the infant Amphilocus. Eriphyle stands before the house with a necklace; and by the side of her, her daughters Eurydice and Demonassa, and her son Alcmæon naked, are represented. But the poet Asius in his verses says, that Alcmene was the daughter of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle.. Baton, too, the charioteer of Amphiaraus is here represented, holding in one hand the horses' reins, and in the other a lance. Amphiaraus himself is seen standing with one of his feet in the chariot, and with a drawn sword in his hand turning to his wife Eriphyle, and scarcely able, through the violence of his rage, to refrain from slaying her. After the house of Amphiaraus, you may see the funeral games in honour of Pelias; Hercules sitting on a throne, and his wife standing behind him, who, as the inscription signifies, is playing, not on Grecian but Phrygian pipes. Pisus Perieres is represented driving a chariot drawn by two horses, and Asterion the son of Cometas, who is said to have been of those that sailed in the Argo.

You may, likewise, see Pollux and Admetus; and after these Euphemus, who, according to the poets, was the son of Neptune, and the companion of Jason in the Colchian expedition. Euphemus is represented as victor in the chariot race. Admetus and Mopsus the son of Ampyx descend to the cæstus, and a piper stands between them playing on his pipe, in the same manner as they play at present in the dance of the quinquertium. Jason and Peleus equally contend in wrestling. Eurybotas hurls the quoit, though it is uncertain who this Eurybotas is that was renowned for this art. Melanion, Neotheus, Phalareus, contend in the race: and the fourth among this group is Argius, and the fifth Iphiclus, to whom, having conquered, Acastus offers the crown of victory. This Iphiclus was the father of Protesilaus who engaged in the war against Troy. Tripods, too, are placed as rewards for the victors. After these follow the daughters of Pelias; but the name of one of them only, Alcestis, is mentioned. But Iolaus, as one willing to partake of the labours of Hercules, bears away the prize of the four-yoked car. And this is the last contest in the games in honour of Pelias. After these you may see Minerva standing by Hercules, who is piercing with his arrows the hydra in the river Amymone. The name of Hercules, indeed, is not mentioned, but it is obvious that it is no other, both from the work in which he is engaged, and his figure. Phineus the Thracian, too, is among these, and the sons of Boreas driving away from him the Harpies.

CHAPTER XVIII.

On the other side of the chest, beginning from the left hand, you will see a woman holding a white boy, who is asleep, in her right hand; but in her left hand a black boy, who is likewise asleep, and whose feet are distorted. The inscriptions signify, though you might infer without them, that these boys are Death and Sleep, and that the woman who is their nurse is Night. But that beautiful woman who drags along a woman of a deformed aspect, and with one of her hands strangles her, and with the other strikes her with a rod, represents Justice punishing Injustice. And the two women that pound mortars with pestles are supposed to have been skilful in medicine; for there is no inscription which might inform us who they were. However, who the woman is that stands by a man, is evinced by the following hexameter verses:

Idas, Marpesa famed for beauteous feet,
Whom once Apollo ravish'd from his arms,
Led from the temple willingly away.

The man that stands near her has a robe on, and in his right hand holds a cup, and in his left a necklace. Alcmene, too, is represented receiving these from him. It is asserted by the Greeks, that Jupiter, assuming the appearance of Amphitryon, had connexion with Alcmene. After these you may see Menelaus, who has a coat of mail on, with a drawn sword in his hand, rushing on Helen as if he meant to slay her, Ilium being taken. Medea, too, is seen sitting on a throne, and on her right hand Jason, and on her left Venus. There is, likewise, the following epigram respecting them:

Jason, so Venus bids, Medea weds.

After this, the Muses are represented singing, and Apollo begins the song. Upon them, too, there is the following epigram:

> Latona's son, perhaps, the darting king
> Apollo, this; and see the beauteous choir
> Of Muses gracefully around him stand,
> Whose tuneful song the god himself begins.

In the next place Atlas is seen sustaining, according to the fable, heaven and earth, and holding in his hand the Hesperian apples of gold. But who the man is that with a sword is coming to Atlas, is not, indeed, evinced by the writing, but it is evident to every one that it is Hercules. On these there is the following epigram:

> Atlas, who props the heaven, his apples leaves.

Mars, too, in armour, leads away Venus; and the inscription is ENYALIOS. Thetis is represented as a virgin. Peleus lays hold of her, and a snake from the hand of Thetis is rushing on Peleus. The winged sisters of Medusa follow Perseus, who is flying; but the name of Perseus alone is inscribed. In the third part of the chest, you may see the image of a military expedition, which consists for the most part of foot soldiers: and some cavalry are seen in two yoked cars. The armies seem partly ready to engage, and partly knowing and embracing one another. The relations of historians concerning them vary: for, according to some, they are the Ætolians led by Oxylus drawn up against the ancient Eleans, who, as soon as they met together, from a recollection of their ancient origin, evinced their mutual benevolence. But, according to others, they are the Pylians and Arcadians on the point of engaging, near the city Phygalea and the river Jardanus. This, indeed, which is asserted by some, can by no means be admitted; that the great grandfather of Cypselus, being a Corinthian, and obtaining the possession of this chest, willingly omitted inscribing on it the national affairs of the Corinthians, but readily represented on the chest the affairs of foreign countries, though they were not of the most illustrious kind. It appears, however, to me, that the origin of Cypselus and his ancestors, in the sixth descent, was from Gonussa the daughter of Sicyon, and that Melas the son of Antassus was one of their ancestors: but that this Melas, and the army that followed him (as I have before observed in my account of the Corinthian affairs,) were not permitted by Aletes to dwell in the same city with him, because an oracle of Apollo had rendered him dubious of their fidelity. However, as Melas endeavoured by the most flattering attention to procure the favour of Aletes, and when he was repulsed addressed him again in a suppliant manner—Aletes at length willingly granted him his request. This military expedition, therefore, we may reasonably infer, is that which is represented on the chest.

CHAPTER XIX.

On the fourth part of the chest, on the left hand, Boreas is represented forcibly taking away Orithyia; and the tails of snakes serve him instead of feet. Here, too, you may see the contest of Hercules with Geryon, who is three bodies joined in one; Theseus holding a lyre, and Ariadne standing near him, extending a crown. Besides these, there is Achilles fighting with Memnon, and their mothers are standing by them. Melanion, too, is represented, and Atalanta is near him holding a young mule. Discord, who is represented of a most deformed shape, stands between Hector and Ajax, who have challenged each other to a single contest. In imitation of this, Calyphon the Samian painted, in the temple of Ephesian Diana, Discord raising the battle at the ships of the Greeks. The Dioscuri, too, are represented on this chest. One of these is without a beard, and Helen stands between them. Æthra, likewise, the daughter of Pittheus, is present, and is represented prostrate on the pavement at the feet of Helen in a black robe. One hexameter verse, with the addition of one word, is inscribed under them:

> The sons of Tyndarus from Athens brought
> Helen and Æthra.———

Iphidamas, too, the son of Antenor, is represented lying on the ground: and Coon fights for him against Agamemnon. Fear is seen in the shield of Agamemnon, with the head of a lion; and there is the following epigram on the dead body of Iphidamas:

> Iphidamas, for whom once Coön fought.

But in the shield of Agamemnon:

> The *fear* of mortals, Agamemnon holds.

After these, you may see Mercury leading Paris the son of Priam, to give his opinion concerning the beauty of the three goddesses: and the following epigram upon them:

> To Paris' judgment Mercury exposed
> Juno, Minerva, and the queen of love.

I do not, however, know why they have represented Diana with wings upon her shoulders; and why she holds a female leopard in her right hand, and a lion in her left. Ajax, too, is represented dragging Cassandra from the statue of Minerva; and upon this there is the following inscription:

> The Locrian Ajax once Cassandra seized,
> And forceful drew her from Minerva's fane.

From among the children of Oedipus, too, you may see Eteocles assaulting Polynices, who has fallen on his knees. And behind Polynices a woman stands, whose teeth, and the crooked nails of whose fingers, are more savage than those of any wild beast. The inscription signifies that she is one of the Parcæ; and that Polynices, indeed, fell by the decree of Destiny, but that Eteocles died with justice. You may likewise see a bearded Bacchus lying in a cavern, holding a golden bowl, and clothed with a garment which reaches to his feet. He is surrounded with vine trees, with apples, and pomegranates.

But the highest part of the chest (for there are five parts) affords no inscriptions, but you may conjecture the signification of what it contains. You may see, therefore, in a cavern, a woman asleep on a bed with a man; and it appears that these two are Ulysses and Circe, as may be inferred from the number of the servants before the cavern, and the employments they are engaged in. For the servants are four in number, and they are employed agreeable to Homer's description of them. In the next place, a Centaur presents himself to the view, whose hinder feet are those of a horse, and his front feet of a man. After this you may see two horses yoked together, and women standing on them. The horses have golden wings, and a man gives arms to one of the women. And these appear to refer to the death of Patroclus: for the women on the horses are the Nereides, and Thetis receives arms from Vulcan. This may be inferred from the man that gives the arms being lame, and a female servant following him with a pair of tongs in her hand. It is said, too, of this Centaur, that he is Chiron, who being liberated by death from converse with mankind, and admitted to an association with the gods, endeavoured to ease Achilles of his grief. In the next place you may see two virgins riding on mules, one of which is represented holding the reins of her mule, and the other has a veil on her head. They are of opinion, that this is Nausicaa the daughter of Alcinous, going with her maid servant to wash her garments. But the man that shoots his arrows at the Centaurs, some of whom he slays, is evidently Hercules; and this is one of the achievements of Hercules. With respect to the artist by whom the chest was made, I could never learn who he was: and some other, perhaps, composed the inscriptions which are on it. I have, however, a great suspicion that it was made by the Corinthian Eumelus, both from contrasting it with his other works, and especially from the verses which he composed on Delos.

CHAPTER XX.

THERE are other gifts, too, in this place besides the chest. And in the first place there is a bed of no great magnitude, for the most part adorned with ivory; a quoit of Iphitus; and a table on which crowns are placed for conquerors. The bed, indeed, they report to have been the plaything of Hippodamia; but the quoit of Iphitus was used by the Eleans for the purpose of announcing a respite to the Olympic games. This proclamation is written in proper order, but the letters are circularly disposed about the quoit. The table is made of ivory and gold; and is said to be the work of Colotes, who derived his origin from Hercules. But those that have made more diligent inquiry about artificers, say that he was a Parian, and the disciple of Pasiteles, who was a self-taught artist. On this table Juno, Jupiter, the Mother of the Gods, Mercury, Apollo, and Diana, are represented. On the back part there is the disposition of the games. On one of the sides you may see Æsculapius, and, of his daughters, Hygia: there is likewise Mars, and together with him the representation of a battle. But in the other side you may see Pluto and Bacchus, Proserpine and two Nymphs, one of which holds a sphere in her hand, and the other a key. For a key belongs to Pluto; and Hades is said to be shut so fast by him, that no one can return from thence. It is by no means proper, likewise, that I should omit what Aristarchus the Olympic historian relates. He says, then, that in his time, when the Eleans were repairing the roof of the temple of Juno, between the polished part of the roof, and that which supports the tiles, the dead body of a wounded man in armour was found. It appears to me, that this man having engaged in fight with Altis against the Lacedæmonians, when the Eleans in order to defend themselves ascended to the temples of the gods, and every place of eminence, then died, fighting in this place; and that his dead body remained so long entire, because, being concealed in those retreats, it could neither receive any injury from hot vapours in summer, nor from cold in winter. Aristarchus farther adds, that the dead body was carried out of Altis, and buried with the arms.

The pillar, too, which the Eleans call the pillar of Œnomaus, presents itself to the view near the temple of Jupiter, after you have left the great altar. But there are four pillars on the left hand, and a roof upon them. These pillars support a wooden beam, which is in a ruinous condition through age, and is begirt with iron chains. But the single pillar is said to have stood in the house of Œnomaus, and to have been the only thing that remained when the house was burnt by lightning. A brazen table before this pillar has the following inscription:

> The only pillar, passenger, am I
> Of those remaining that adorned the house
> Of Oenomaus: but illustrious now,
> With chains encircled, near Jove's fane I stand,
> Nor fear the desolating rage of fire.

The following circumstance, too, happened in my time. A certain Roman senator was conqueror in the Olympic games. In consequence of this, being willing to leave as a monument of his victory a brazen statue with an inscription, he ordered a ditch to be dug for this purpose, as near as possible to the pillar of Œnomaus. Those who were employed in this business, found, in digging, fragments of shields, bridles, and iron rings, which I myself saw while they were digging up. A certain temple, too, of great magnitude, and Doric workmanship, which they call *Metroon*, or *the temple of the Mother of the Gods*, preserves its ancient name even at present, but does not contain any image of the goddess. There are, however, to be seen in it statues of the Roman emperors. This Metroon is in Altis; and together with it a round building which they call *Philippeion*. On the top of this building there is a brazen poppy, which serves as a bond to the beams. This edifice is situated near the extremity of Altis on the left hand of the Prytaneum, is raised from bricks, and is surrounded with pillars. Philip ordered this to be built after the slaughter which he had made of the Greeks at Chæronea. And in this building the statues are to be seen of Philip and Alexander, and, together with them, of Amyntas the father of Philip. These, as also the statues of Olympias and Eurydice, were made by Leochares of ivory and gold.

CHAPTER XXI.

The order of my discourse now requires, that I should give an account of the statues and sacred gifts; at the same time that it is proper to assign a separate relation to each. For in the Athenian tower the statues, and whatever else it contains, are all equally dedicated to the gods: but in Altis some things are placed there in honour of a divine nature; but it likewise contains the statues, as symbols of renown, of those that conquered in the Olympic games. Of these statues, however, we shall afterwards make mention: at present, let us relate the particulars of the most illustrious statues, or those which are dedicated to the gods. As you go, then, to the stadium, after leaving the Metroon, you will see on the left hand, near the boundaries of the mountain Cronius, a stone fountain near the mountain, with steps by which you may ascend the fountain. Near it there are brazen statues of Jupiter, which were made with the money taken as a fine from those that had acted fraudulently in the games. These statues are called by the natives *Zanes*. Six of them were at first erected in the ninety-eighth Olympiad. For Eupolus the Thessalian having bribed with money Agetor the Arcadian, and Prytanis the Cyzicenian, who came to contend in boxing, and besides these Phormio the Halicarnassian, who had conquered in the Olympiad prior to this; in consequence of this, as it was the first time that injustice had taken place in the games, and the contending parties had been bribed, both Eupolus and those that received his money were degraded by the Eleans.

Two of these statues were made by Cleon the Sicyonian; but I cannot tell who made the other four. On leaving the third and fourth of these statues, you will see elegies inscribed on the rest. The first of these elegies signifies, that victory in the Olympic games is not to be obtained by money, but by swiftness of foot, and strength of body. The inscription on the next statue informs us why it was erected, viz. that divinity might be honoured, the piety of the Eleans evinced, and such of the Athletæ as acted unlawfully terrified. With respect to the two remaining statues, the inscription on one of them both celebrates the Eleans in other respects, and particularly for their punishing the pugilists; but that on the other signifies that statues serve as documents to all Greece, that no one ought to bribe his competitors, in order to obtain victory in the Olympic games. They report that, after Eupolis, the Athenian Calippus bribed his antagonists in the quinquertium; and this happened in the one hundred and twelfth Olympiad. But in consequence of Callippus and his antagonists being heavily fined by the Eleans, the Athenians sent Hyperides to the Eleans, in order to persuade them to take off the fine. They would not, however, be persuaded; and the Athenians so much despised the Eleans for refusing to comply with their request, that they would not pay the fine, though they were prohibited from celebrating the games, till the Delphic deity, on their consulting him about some particular affair, told them he should give them no answer, till they had paid the fine to the Eleans.

The Athenians, therefore, having sent the money, six statues of Jupiter were made with it, and elegies were inscribed on them, not less severe than those made upon Eupolus. The first inscription signifies, that by the command of the oracle, which approved the fine laid by the Eleans on the fraudulent victors in the quinquertium, these statues were erected. There is the same inscription on the second and third statue. The fourth signifies that victory in the Olympic games should be obtained by virtue, and not by wealth. The fifth shows on what account the statues were placed. The sixth mentions the oracle given to the Athenians by the Delphic Apollo. After these, follow two statues erected in memorial of two men that were fined for bribery in wrestling; but who they were is unknown, as well to the Elean historians as to me. There are inscriptions, too, on these statues. And one of these asserts, that the Rhodians dedicated this statue, from the money collected for injustice, to Olympian Jupiter, in wrestling: but the other, that this statue was erected from the fine levied on those who bore away the prize, in wrestling, through bribery. The Elean historians say, that all the other statues were erected when Eudelus, in the one hundred and seventy-eighth Olympiad, received money from Philostratus the Rhodian. I find, however, that this report is contradicted by the inscriptions of the Eleans respecting the Olympic victories. For in these it is asserted, that Straton, the Alexandrian, in the one hundred and seventy-eighth Olympiad, was in one day crowned in the pancratium, and in wrestling.

Alexander, indeed, the son of Philip, built Alexandria, near the Canobic mouth of the Nile. It is also said, that prior to this there was a small Ægyptian city in this place, which was called Rhacotis. In the age prior to Straton, three men, and as many after him, were crowned in the pancratium, and in wrestling. From among the former, the first was an Elean, from that part of Greece which is beyond Ænus; the second was Aristomenes, the Rhodian; and the third was Protophanes, from the Magnetes at Lethæus. But of the latter, Marion, who was of the same city with Straton, Aristeas Stratonicensis (formerly both the region and city was called Chrysaoris), and, lastly, Nicostratus, who came from the maritime town Cilicia, though he had nothing in common with the Cilicians except the name. This Nicostratus, who was by no means of an obscure family, was taken away by robbers from Prymnessus, a Phrygian city, and sold to an uncertain person at Ægea. Some time after this, he dreamt that a lion's whelp lay on the ground under the bed upon which he slept. And Nicostratus, indeed, as soon as he arrived at the vigour of manhood, was often victorious in the pancratium, and in wrestling, in the Olympic games. Afterwards, among others that were fined by the Eleans, was an Alexandrian pugilist, in the two hundred and eighteenth Olympiad, whose name was Apollonius; but his surname (for it is the custom of the Alexandrians to have surnames) was Rhantis. This man was the first of the Ægyptians that was condemned by the Eleans, not, indeed, for either giving or receiving money, but for another kind of improper conduct in the games, viz. for not coming at the proper time. Nor was his pretext admitted, that he was detained by contrary winds in the islands of the Cyclades;

for Heraclides, who was himself an Alexandrian, proved his plea to be false, and evinced that he was then employed in collecting money from the games in Ionia. The Eleans, therefore, expelled Apollonius from the games, and every other person that did not attend them at the time prescribed by the laws: but to Heraclides they gave a crown untouched by the dust.

Apollonius, however, who was provided with a leather thong as a pugilist, when he saw this, rushed on Heraclides as he was taking the crown, and pursued him as he fled to the presidents of the games. But for this rashness a severe punishment ensued. There are, likewise, two other statues, the work of the present times. For in the two hundred and twenty-sixth Olympiad certain pugilists were detected employing bribery for the Olympic victory, for which they were fined; and statues of Jupiter were made from the money, one of which stands on the left hand, and the other on the right hand of the entrance to the stadium. The name of one of these pugilists was Didas, and of the other, who was bribed, Garapammon; and both of them belonged to that Egyptian tribe which is called Arsinoites. It is, indeed, a wonderful circumstance, that strangers, without any regard to Olympian Jupiter, should either have received or given money on account of the contest; but it is still more wonderful that the Eleans should have been guilty of the same fraudulent conduct. For in the one hundred and ninety-second Olympiad, Damonicus is said to have dared to act in this manner towards the Eleans, by bribing the son of Sosander, the Smyrnæan, to yield the victory to his son Polyctor. The judges, however, being indignant at this conduct, fined the parents of the contending parties, as they were the persons that had acted unjustly. From this fine two statues were erected, one in the gymnasium of the Eleans, and the other before the porch in Altis, which is called *Various*, from the pictures with which the walls were formerly adorned. There are, also, those that call this place the porch of Echo, because the voice of a man is reverberated in it seven times, and often more than this. A statue, too, is erected to Jupiter, from a fine of the Alexandrian pancratiast Serapion. They report, that he was fined for timidity, because, in the first after the two hundredth Olympiad, he was so terrified at his antagonists, that, the day before the commencement of the pancratium, he abandoned the place. They add, that he was the only person, whether Ægyptian or any other, that was ever fined for fear. And such are the statues which I have found erected, and such the causes of their fabrication.

CHAPTER XXII.

There are, besides these, other statues of Jupiter, which have been dedicated partly at public and partly at private cost. But there is an altar in Altis, near the entrance which leads to the stadium. The Eleans do not sacrifice upon this altar to any of the gods; but trumpeters and criers contend upon it after the ancient manner. Near this altar there is a brazen foundation, and upon it a statue of Jupiter, about six cubits in altitude, and with thunder in each of his hands. This was dedicated by Cynæthaenses. But the youthful Jupiter, with a chain about his neck, was dedicated by Phliasius Cleolas. Near the building, too, which they call Hippodamium, there is a foundation of stone, in the form of a semicircle, and upon it a statue of Jupiter, and statues of Thetis and Aurora, supplicating Jupiter for their children. These are in the middle of the basis. But in one of its extremities Achilles stands, and in the other Memnon: and they are represented in the attitude of enemies. In like manner a Barbarian stands opposite to a Greek, viz. Helenus to Ulysses, because each of these, in his own army, was the most renowned for wisdom. Paris, likewise, through ancient hatred, is opposed to Menelaus; Æneas to Diomed; and Deiphobus to Ajax Telamon. These were the works of Lycius, the son of Myron, and were dedicated by the Apolloniatæ, that live near the Ionian sea. And the following elegy, written in ancient characters, is to be seen at the feet of Jupiter:

The city Apollonia, which the god
With unshorn locks, the bright Apollo, raised
Near the Ionian sea, these gifts devotes.
For those that once Abantis' boundaries seized
From Thronium brought the tenth of all their spoil.

But the region which is called Abantis, and the city Thronium, which it contains, formed a part of the Threspotian Epirus, near the mountains Ceraunii. For the Greeks being dispersed on their return from Troy, the Locrians, from Thronium, near the river Boagrius, and the Abantes, from Eubœa, were carried in eight ships to the mountains Ceraunii. Here, fixing their residence, they inhabited Thronium, and called as much of the country as was distributed in common, by the name of Abantis: but afterwards they were expelled from this country, through being vanquished in war by their neighbours the Apolloniatæ. They report, that Apollonia was colonised from Corcyra, and that the Corinthians partook of these spoils.

On proceeding to a little distance from hence, you will see a statue of Jupiter, turned towards the east, holding in one of his hands an eagle, and in the other thunder. He has, likewise, a crown on his head of vernal flowers. This was the gift of the Metapontines, and the work of Aristonous Æginetas. I am equally ignorant who was the master of this Aristonous, and at what time he flourished. The Phliasians, too, have dedicated a Jupiter, the daughters of Asopus, and Asopus himself. These statues are disposed in the following manner: Nemea is the first of the sisters;

and after her Jupiter is seen laying hold on Ægina. Arpinna stands near Ægina, with whom Mars, according to the report of the Eleans and Phliasians, was connected, and by whom he had Œnomaus, that reigned in Pisa. After her, Corcyra stands; then Thebe; and, last of all, Asopus. Neptune, too, is said to have been connected with Corcyra: and Pindar, in his odes, relates other things of this kind of Jupiter and Thebe. The Leontines, indeed, raised a statue of Jupiter from private and not from public cost; and the magnitude of this statue is seven cubits. In its left hand there is an eagle, and in its right hand thunder, according to the description of poets. These Leontines, too, dedicated Hippagoras, Phrynon, and Ænesidemus. But it appears to me, that this Ænesidemus was not the same with the person of this name that reigned over the Leontines.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Having passed beyond the road which leads to the place of consultation, or the *Bouleuterion*, you will see a Jupiter without any inscription: and as you turn again towards the north, you will see another statue of Jupiter. This statue looks to the east, and was dedicated by the Grecians that at Platæa fought against Mardonius and the Medes. On the right hand of the basis the names of those cities are inscribed that partook of this enterprise. Of these the Lacedæmonians are the first; after these, the Athenians; the third and fourth are the Corinthians and Sicyonians; the fifth are the Æginetæ; after these, the Megarenses and Epidaurians; and of the Arcadians the Tegeatæ and Orchomenians. In the next place, the Phliasians, Trœzenians, and Hermionenses succeed: but of the Argives, the Tirynthians; of the Bœotians, the Platæenses alone; and of the

Argives, the Mycenæi. Of the islands, the Chii and the Milesii are mentioned; and of the Thesprotian continent, the Ambraciotæ, together with the Tenii and Lepreatæ. The Lepreatæ, indeed, were the only persons that came from Triphyly; but from Ægium and the Cyclades, not only the Tenii came, but the Naxii and Cynthii. From Eubœa, the Styrenses came; and after these, the Eleans, Potidæatæ, and Anactorii; and last of all, the Chalcidenses that dwell near the Euripus.

Of these cities, the following are at present extinct: Mysene and Tiryntha were subverted by the Argives, after the Greeks had conquered the Medes: but the Ambraciatæ and Anactorii were brought by Augustus Cæsar to Nicopolis, to the promontory Actium. The Potidæatæ, who had been twice driven from their country, the first time by Philip, the son of Amyntas, and afterwards by the Athenians, were reinstated by Cassander; and the city which was formerly called Potidæa was denominated, from its founder, Cassandrea. But the statue in Olympia, which was dedicated by the Greeks in common, was made by Anaxagoras Ægineta; though he is not mentioned by the Platæensian historians. Before this statue of Jupiter there is a brazen pillar, in which the league between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, for thirty years, is inscribed. The Athenians made this league, after they had again conquered Eubœa, in the third year of that Olympiad in which Crison Himeræus conquered in the stadium. In this league, too, it is mentioned, that the peace between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians did not extend to the city of the Argives, but that the Argives might, if they pleased, enter into a private confederacy with the Athenians.

There is also another statue of Jupiter, near the car of Cleosthenes, of which we shall make mention hereafter. This statue was dedicated by the Megarenses, and was made by the brothers Thylacus and Onæthus, and their sons; though I am perfectly ignorant of the age, country, and masters of these artists. Near the chariot of Gelon there is an ancient Jupiter holding a sceptre. They say, that this was the gift of the Hyblææ. But the Hyblæ were two cities in Sicily, one of which, Gereatis, was surnamed Galeotis; but the other was called, as it was in reality, *the Greater*. These cities, even at present, retain their names: but one of them, in Catanensis, is entirely desolate; and the other, Gereatis, has a temple, in which divine honours are paid to the goddess Hyblæa. I am of opinion, that the statue in Olympia was brought thither from this people: for Philistus, the son of Archomenides, says, that they were interpreters of prodigies and dreams, and were the most pious of all the Barbarians in Sicily. But near the sacred gift of the Hyblææ there is a brazen basis, and upon it a statue of Jupiter. I conjecture, that the altitude of this statue is about eighteen feet: and the following inscription upon it informs us by whom it was dedicated to the god, and who were the artists that made it:

This statue as the tenth of cities won,
Of many won, by war's rapacious hand,
Here the Clitorii dedicate to Jove.
Ariston and Telestas brothers were
Of Sparta's realms, and with conspiring art
The statue in its due proportions framed.

But I am of opinion, that these Laconians were not known to the whole of Greece: for otherwise the Eleans would be able to give some particular account of them, and the Lacedæmonians still more so, because they were Spartans.

CHAPTER XXIV.

After this, there is an altar of Jupiter Laoetas, and Neptune Laoetas: and near this altar there is a Jupiter on a brazen basis, which was the gift of the Corinthian people, and the work of a certain artist, Musus. But as you go from the Bouleuterion to the great temple, you will see a statue of Jupiter, on the left hand, crowned, as it were, with flowers, and holding thunder in his right hand. This was the work of the Theban Ascarus, who was taught by a Sicyonian. They say, that it was dedicated by the Thessalians because they had subdued the Phocenses, and was one of the Phocensian spoils. This was not the war which is called sacred; for it took place before Xerxes and the Medes passed over into Greece. Not far from hence there is a statue of Jupiter, which the inscription evinces the Psophidians dedicated, in consequence of having obtained the victory in an engagement. But on the right hand of the great temple there is a statue of Jupiter, towards the east, of twelve feet in altitude; which, they say, was dedicated by the Lacedæmonians when they a second time attacked the rebellious Messenians. There is also the following elegy upon it:

Saturnian Jove Olympian, deign t' accept
This beauteous statue, and the Spartans bless.

I know, however, of no Roman, whether a private person or a patrician, prior to L. Mummius, who dedicated any thing in a Grecian temple. But Mummius, from the spoils of the Achaians, dedicated a brazen statue of Jupiter in Olympia. This statue stands on the left hand of the gift of the Lacedæmonians, and near the first pillar of the temple. But the statue of Jupiter in Altis, which is the greatest of all the statues, was dedicated by the Eleans, in consequence of the war against the Arcadians, and is in altitude twenty-seven feet. Near the temple of Pelops, too, there is a pillar of no great altitude, and upon it a small statue of Jupiter, extending one of his hands. Opposite to this there are other statues in a continued series; and among these there are statues of Jupiter and Ganymedes. Homer, indeed, relates that Ganymedes, being taken away by Jupiter, became his cup-bearer, and that horses were given for him to his father Tros. This was dedicated by Gnothis the Thessalian, but was made by Aristocles the disciple and son of Cleœtas. There is also another Jupiter without a beard, among the gifts of Smicythus. But who this Smicythus was, who were his ancestors, and on what account he dedicated many gifts in Olympia, I shall hereafter relate.

On proceeding from this statue to a small distance, in a straight direction, you will see another beardless statue of Jupiter. This was dedicated by the Elaitæ, who, leaving Caicus, first took possession of Æolis in the maritime coast. After this again there is another statue of Jupiter; and the inscription on it signifies, that the Cnidians, the inhabitants of Cherronesus, dedicated it from the spoils of the enemy. On one side of Jupiter, too, they have placed Pelops, and on the other, the river Alpheus. Indeed, the greatest part of the city of the Cnidians is built in the Carian continent, and contains many things which are in the most eminent degree worthy of inspection. But that which is called Cherronesus, is an island in the continent, to which you may pass over by a bridge. From this place gifts were sent to Jupiter in Olympia; just as the inhabitants of that Ephesian city which is called Coresus, dedicated a statue in the common name of the Ephesians. Near the wall, too, of Altis, there is a Jupiter turned towards the west, without any inscription. It is said, that this was dedicated by Mummius out of the Achaian spoils. But in the Bouleuterion there is a statue of

Jupiter, which is the most calculated of all statues whatever to excite terror in the unjust. The surname of this statue is *Orkios*, or *the god of oaths;* and it has thunder in each of its hands.

It is usual with the Athletæ, their parents, brothers, and masters of the gymnasium, to swear upon the testicles of a boar, that they will not act unjustly in any thing belonging to the Olympic games. But the Athletæ, in addition to this, swear that they have employed ten successive months in preparing themselves for the games. Those, too, who are to pass sentence either on the youth or the colts that contend in the games, swear that they will not be influenced in their decision by gifts, and that they will preserve in secret the motives that determined their decisions. I did not, however, remember to inquire what use was made of the boar, after the oath of the Athletæ. I know, indeed, that it is established among the more ancient institutions, that the victims upon which oaths have been made, shall not be employed for the purposes of human food; and is by no means in the least degree evinced by Homer; for he says, that the boar, upon the severed parts of which Agamemnon swore that he had not touched Briseis, was thrown into the sea by the herald Talthybius.

> "With that, his weapon deep inflicts the wound;
> The bleeding savage tumbles to the ground;
> The sacred herald rolls the victim slain
> (A feast for fish) into the foaming main."

So that rites of this kind are to be considered as ancient.—But before the feet of Jupiter Orkios there is a brazen table, in which elegies are written, with a view of striking terror into those that swear. And such is the accurate number of the statues of Jupiter within Altis. For the offering near the great temple was dedicated by a certain Corinthian (not one of the ancient Corinthians, but of those whom Cæsar colonized). And this gift is Alexander the son of Philip, assimilated to Jupiter.

CHAPTER XXV.

Let us now give an account of those statues which are not resemblances of Jupiter. For those statues which are not erected out of reverence to a divine nature, but out of respect to men, we shall give an account of, when we discourse about the Athletæ. When the Messenians who dwell near the strait between Sicily and Italy, sent, according to the ancient custom which they observe every year, a choir to Rhegium, consisting of thirty-five boys, and together with these the master of the choir, and a harper, for the purpose of celebrating a certain festival of the Rhegians, it happened that the ship which carried them sunk, and all that were on board perished. For this strait is the most stormy of every sea, owing to the winds which agitate its waves from the Adriatic and Tyrrhene seas. And even when the violence of the winds is allayed, the motion of the influent and refluent sea is so vehement, and the air above the sea is so infected with the fetid smell of the fishes collected in great abundance in the strait, that to the shipwrecked no hope of safety remains. If, indeed, Ulysses had been shipwrecked in the Sicilian strait, it is not credible that he could have arrived at Italy by any other means than divine assistance, which is benignantly exerted at all times, and at length gives ease to the oppressed.

The Messenians were greatly afflicted at this loss of the young men, and, among other honours which they paid them, erected to their memory brazen statues in Olympia, and, together with these, statues of the master of the choir, and the harper. The ancient inscription signifies, that these were dedicated by the Messenians that dwell in the strait.

But in after times, Hippias, who was esteemed for his wisdom by the Greeks, composed elegies for these statues, which were made by the Elean Callon. In that promontory, too, in Sicily, which is called Pachynum, and which looks towards Africa and the south, is the city Motye, which is inhabited by Africans and Phœnicians. These barbarians in Motye were subdued by the Agrigentines, who, from the spoils of their victory, placed brazen boys in Olympia, extending their right hands, and in the attitude of praying to the god. These are placed near the wall of Altis, and are, I conjecture, the works of Calamis, as they are generally reported to be. But the Sicilian nations are as follow: The Sicani, Siculi, and Phrygians; the two first of which came thither from Italy, but the Phrygians from Scamander and Troy. The Phœnicians and Libyans, joining in one common military expedition, came into the island, and formed colonies of Carthaginians. And such are the barbarous nations which inhabit Sicily. But of the Greeks, the Dorienses, and Ionians, the Phocenses, and no great part of those that bear an Attic name.

In the same wall of Altis, there are both the offerings of the Agrigentines, and two naked statues of Hercules, of a puerile age; one of which is represented piercing with arrows the Nemean lion. This Hercules with the lion was dedicated by Hippotion the Tarentine, and was made by Nicodamus; but the other statue was dedicated by Anaxippus Mendæus, and was brought hither by the Eleans; as prior to this it was placed at the extremity of that road which leads from Elis to Olympia, and is called Sacred. The Achaian nation in common, too, dedicated those statues which are represented as just beginning to engage in single contests, from a challenge of Hector: and these stand armed with spears and shields, near the great temple. Opposite to these Nestor stands on another base, casting the lot of each in a helmet. And those that are allotted to fight with Hector, are eight in number: for the ninth of them, which is the statue of Ulysses, is said to have been taken away by Nero, and brought to Rome. Of these eight, too, the statue of Agamemnon alone has the name inscribed, the letters of which proceed in an inverse order, from the right hand to the left. He who bears a cock in his shield is Idomeneus, the grandson of Minos, and who descended from Pasiphae the daughter of the Sun. They say that this bird is sacred to the Sun, and that it announces by its crowing the rising of that luminary. The following epigram is inscribed in the basis:

"The Achaians, who from godlike Pelops sprung,
These statues dedicated once to Jove."

And in the shield of Idomeneus the name of the artist is inscribed:

"His father Micon, in Ægina born,
Onatas, for his numerous works renown'd,
Of admirable skill, this statue made."

Not far from this gift of the Achaians, there is a Hercules fighting with an Amazon on horseback for a girdle. This was dedicated by Evagoras Zanclæus, and was made by Cydionates Aristocles. This Aristocles may be ranked among the most ancient artists; nor can any one give a clear account of the age in which he lived. It is, however, evident, that he was born before the name Messene was given to Zancle, which name it bears at present. The Thasians, too, who originated from Tyre and the other parts of Phœnicia, and who sailed with Thasus the son of Agenor in search of Europa, dedicated a brazen Hercules in Olympia upon a brazen basis. The magnitude of this statue is ten cubits, and it holds in its right hand a club, and in its left a bow. I have likewise heard, that the Thasians formerly venerated the same Hercules as the Tyrians, but that afterwards, when they were mingled with the Greeks, they were of opinion, that they ought to reverence Hercules the son of Amphitryon. The following lines are inscribed on the gift of the Thasians:

"Onatas, who to Micon owed his birth,
And in Ægina dwelt, this statue framed."

With respect to this Onatas Ægineta, who made these statues, we think that he was not second to any of those renowned artists that were instructed by Dædalus, or tutored in the workshop at Attica.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of those Dorian Messenians, such as formerly possessed Naupactus, which they received from the Athenians, dedicated in Olympia a statue of Victory on a pillar. This was the work of the Pæonian Mendæus; and, as it appears to me, was made from the spoils of the Acarnanes and Œniadæ. But the Messenians themselves say, that it was dedicated by them, on account of the victory which they obtained in the island Sphacteria in conjunction with the Athenians, and that they did not inscribe the name of their city on the statue through fear of the Lacedæmonians. They farther add, that the Œniadæ and Acarnanes could not have been influenced by any such fear, if the statue had been dedicated by them. I find, too, many gifts here of Smicythus, among which the following present themselves to the view, after the statue of the Elean Iphitus, and of Ecechiria crowning Iphitus, viz. Amphitrite, Neptune, and Vesta, all which were made by the Argive Glaucus. But near the great temple, and on the left side, the same Smicythus dedicated a Proserpine, Venus, Ganymedes, and Diana; of the poets, Homer and Hesiod; and of the gods again, Æsculapius and Hygia. Among the gifts, too, of Smicythus there is a statue of *Agon, or the divinity of contests*, holding a rope-dancer's weights. There weights are of a semicircular form, but are rather oblong than exactly round; and they are so constructed that the fingers may pass through them, just as through the thongs of shields.

Near the statue of Agon there is a Bacchus, a Thracian Orpheus, and that statue of Jupiter which we not long since mentioned. These are the works of the Argive Dionysius. Smicythus, too, is said to have dedicated other things, which Nero took away. The masters of these artists Dionysius and Glaucus are not known; but the age in which they lived may be collected from that of Smicythus, who dedicated these in Olympia. For Herodotus writes, that this Smicythus was at first the servant of Anaxilas, who reigned over the Rheginenses; that afterwards he came to be his treasurer; and that, on the death of Anaxilas, he migrated to Tegea. The inscriptions, too, on the gifts, signify that the country of Smicythus was Chœrus; and that the Greeks gave him Rhegium for his habitation, and that part of Messene which is near the strait. They likewise report, that he placed the epigrams in Tegea, but the gifts which we have enumerated, in Olympia, from a vow which he made for the safety of his son, when he was in a consumption. But near the greater gifts of Smicythus, which were made by Glaucus, there is a statue of Minerva armed with a helmet and ægis. This was made by Nicodamus the Mænalian, and was dedicated by the Eleans. Near Minerva there is a statue of Victory. This was dedicated by the Mantinenses after a war which is not mentioned in the epigram. This statue is without wings, and is said to have been made by Calamis, in imitation of that ancient statue at Athens which is called *Apteros*, or without wings. But near the lesser gifts of Smicythus, which were made by Dionysius, of the labours of Hercules, his conquest of the Nemean lion and hydra, his dragging Cerberus up to the light, and his slaying the boar near the river Erymanthus, are represented. All these were dedicated by the Heracleotæ, after they had subdued the barbarous nations that bordered on their dominions. These Heracleotæ dwell near the Euxine Pontus, and are a colony of the Megarensians and Tanagræans. Opposite to these gifts there are other offerings in a continued series, turned towards the west, and near the grove which is sacred to Pelops.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Among these, too, you may behold the offerings of Phormis Mænalius. This man, passing from Mænalus to Sicily, to the army of Gelon the son of Dinomenes, and to Hiero the brother of Gelon, accomplished many illustrious achievements, and, in consequence of this, arrived at such a great degree of felicity, that he was both able to dedicate these offerings in Olympia, and others to Apollo at Delphos. His gifts in Olympia are two horses and two charioteers. Each charioteer stands by the side of his own horse: and one of these horses was made by the Argive Dionysius, and the other by Simon Ægineta. On the side of the former of these horses, too, there is an epigram, the first part of which is not in verse; for it runs thus:

> "Phormis Arcas Mænalius, a Syracusan now, these gifts devotes."

This is the horse which, according to the Eleans, possesses the power of raising in horses the *hippomanes*, or *a mad desire of coition*. This, as well as other particulars belonging to the horse, took place through the art of a magician, in order to render the horse by this means an object of admiration.

The horse, both in its size and shape, is inferior to many horses which are dedicated within Altis, and is rendered still more deformed by having its tail cut off. Horses desire a connexion with this image, not only in spring, but every day in the year; for breaking their bridles, or running from their drivers, they rush into Altis, and attack this horse in a much more furious manner than if it was the most beautiful mare, and one that they were acquainted with. Their hoofs, indeed, slip from the sides of the image; but they do not cease neighing vehemently, and leaping furiously on the figure, till they are drawn away by the whip, or some other violent means; for till these methods are applied, it is impossible to free them from the brass.

In Lydia, too, I myself saw another prodigy, which is different, indeed, from the horse of Phormis, but yet not free from the art of magicians. For the Lydians, who are called Persic, have temples in the cities Hierocæsarea and Hypapa. In each of these temples there is a cell, and in the cell an altar with ashes upon it: but the colour of these ashes is different from that of others. A magician entering into this cell, and placing dry wood on the altar, first of all veils his head with a tiara, and afterwards invokes a certain divinity, by an incantation barbaric, and perfectly unknown to the Greeks. This incantation he performs from a book; and when it is finished, all the wood on the altar becomes necessarily enkindled without fire, and emits a very splendid flame. But to return from this digression: among these offerings there is a statue of Phormis himself, fighting hand to hand with an enemy, after this with another, and then again with a third enemy. There is an inscription upon these, signifying, that the soldier who is fighting with Phormis is Mænalius; and that it was dedicated by the Syracusan Lycortas. But it is evident that this Lycortas dedicated the statue through his friendship for Phormis. By the Greeks, however, the offerings of Lycortas are called the gifts of Phormis. But the Mercury carrying a ram under his arm, with a helmet on his head, and clothed with a robe and cloak, is not one of the gifts of Phormis; for it was dedicated to Jupiter by the Arcadian Pheneatæ. The inscription on it indicates that it was made by Onatas Ægineta, and Calliteles. But it appears to me, that Calliteles was either the disciple or the son of Onatas.

Not far from the gift of the Pheneatæ there is another statue of Mercury, with a caduceus. The inscription on it signifies, that it was dedicated by Glaucas the Rheginensian, and that its artist was Callon the Elean. But of the two brazen oxen, one of them was dedicated by the Corcyræi, and the other by the Eretrienses. They were made by the Eretriensian Philesius. But why the Corcyræi dedicated one ox in Olympia, and one at Delphos, I shall show in my description of the Phocensian affairs. What I have heard concerning the ox in Olympia is this: a little boy, once sitting under this ox, and playing in a stooping posture, raised his head on a sudden, and struck it so violently against the brass, that he died not many days after from the wound. The Eleans, upon this, as the ox was guilty of shedding blood, consulted about expelling it from Altis; but the Delphic deity admonished them, that they should expiate the ox, according to those rites which the Greeks employed for involuntary slaughter. Under the plane-trees, too, in Elis, and about the middle of the enclosure, there is a brazen trophy: and the inscription on the shield which is fixed there, signifies that the Eleans raised it in consequence of the Lacedæmonians being vanquished. It was in this battle that the man fell, whom I mentioned as being found in armour on the top of the temple of Juno. But the gift of the Mendæans in Thrace, has the appearance of a man that contended in the quinquertium. This statue is placed near the

Elean Anauchis, and holds in its hands rope-dancer's weights. The following lines, too, are inscribed on one of its thighs:

> "Here the Mendæi captured Sipte's spoils
> To Jove, the sovereign of the gods, devote."

It appears that Sipte was a fortified city of Thrace. But the Mendæi are Grecians from Ionia; and they dwell on this side the sea which is near the city Anus.

BOOK VI.

POSTERIOR ELIACS.

CHAPTER I.

The order of discourse requires that I should now make mention of the contending horses, and of the noble and vulgar Athletæ, as I have discussed what relates to the votive offerings in Elis. Indeed, there are not statues of all that conquered in the Olympic games, but only of those that gave specimens of illustrious skill in the contests. Those conquerors, therefore, that are without statues, together with such others as are renowned for their actions, but have no statues, I shall pass over in silence. For it is not my intention to give a catalogue only of all the Athletæ that have conquered in the Olympic games, but a description of the other offerings and statues which Elis contains. Nor yet shall I give an account of all the statues that are to be seen here; as I well know that some of those that contended, received the crown of victory, rather by an unexpected good fortune than strenuous exertions. I shall only, therefore, make mention of such as either by their own deserts have obtained renown, or have rose to eminence through the opinions of others.

On the right hand then of the temple of Juno, there is an image of a wrestler, who was an Elean, and who was Symmachus, the son of Æschylus. Near this statue there is one of Neolaidas, the son of Proxenus, who came from Pheneus in Arcadia, and obtained the victory in boxing with boys. After him follows Archidamus the son of Xenias, who was victor in wrestling with boys, and was an Elean. The statues which I have just enumerated were made by Alypus the Sicyonian, who was the disciple of the Argive Naucydes. But the epigram upon Cleogenes evinces that he was the son of Silenus, and a native of this place. They report, that he conquered in vaulting with one of his own horses. Near Cleogenes there is a statue of Dinolochus, of Pyrrhus, and Troilus, the son of Alcinous; all whom were Eleans, though they were not all victorious in the same contest. For Pyrrhus both acted as judge of the games, and conquered in the horse-race; but Troilus was victorious in the perfect chariot-race, and in the car drawn by colts.—He conquered, too, in the one hundred and second Olympiad. But from this time the Eleans made a law, that no judge of the games should contend in the horse-race. This statue was made by Lysippus. But the mother of Dinolochus dreamt that she closely embraced her son who was crowned. In consequence of this dream, Dinolochus vigorously employed himself in gymnastic exercises, and at length out-ran the boys his competitors. His statue was made by Cleon the Sicyonian.

With respect to Cynisca, the daughter of Archidamus, her pedigree, and her Olympic victories, all these I have related in my account of the Lacedæmonian kings. In Olympia, too, near the statue of Troilus, there is a stone fountain, and upon it a chariot with horses, and a charioteer, together with a statue of Cynisca made by Apelles, and some inscriptions upon her. Some Lacedæmonians, who conquered in the horse-race, succeed in a following order. The first of these is Anaxander, who was declared victor in the chariot-race: and the inscription signifies, that the grandfather of Anaxander was crowned before him in the quinquertium. This statue resembles one praying to a divinity. After this follows Polycles, who was surnamed Polychalcus, who was crowned in the course with four horses, and who holds a fillet in his hand. Near him there are two boys, one of which holds a hoop, and the other requests of him the fillet. This Polycles, as the inscription upon him evinces, conquered in the equestrian contest, in the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games.

CHAPTER II.

THE statue of the Pancratiast, which is next to this, was made by Lysippus. This man was the first that bore away the victory from other Acarnanians in the pancratium. His name was Xenarges, and he was the son of Philandridas. The Lacedæmonians, indeed, after the irruption of the Medes into Greece, excelled all the Greeks in the art of rearing horses. For, exclusive of those whom I have mentioned above, the following Spartan horse-rearers are placed after the image of the athletic Acarnan, viz. Xenarges, Lycinus, Arcesilaus, and Lichas the son of Arcesilaus. And Xenarges, indeed, conquered in the Delphic, Argolic, and Corinthiac games. But Lycinus having brought colts to Olympia, and afterwards not approving one of them, applied himself to the care of adult horses, and through them was victorious. This Lycinus dedicated two statues in Olympia, which were made by the Athenian Myron. But Arcesilaus, the father of Lycas, obtained two Olympic victories: and as to Lycas, the Lacedæmonians at that time not being permitted to contend in the games, he instituted a chariot-race in the name of the Theban people, and with his own hand bound the head of the victorious charioteer with a fillet; for which action he was punished with flagellation by the judges of the games. Indeed, it was through this Lycas that the Lacedæmonians, led by their king Agis, warred on the Eleans, and fought with them within Altis. But when the war was finished, Lycas erected a statue in this place. The writings of the Eleans, however, assert, that the palm of victory was not given to Lycas, but to the Theban people.

Near the statue of Lycas there is a statue of Thrasybulus an Elean prophet, of the family of the Iamidæ, who prophesied for the Mantinenses against the Lacedæmonians, and king Agis the son of Eudamidas; concerning which circumstance, I shall speak more largely in my account of the Arcadian affairs. An eft creeps on the right shoulder of the prophet; and near him lies a dog cut in two, and having his liver exposed to view. Divination has been established by mankind from remote antiquity, from kids, lambs, and calves. The Cyprians were the first that added a hog: but dogs have never been used by any nations for the purposes of divination. It appears, therefore, that Thrasybulus established a peculiar kind of divination from the entrails of dogs. But the prophets that are called Iamidæ sprung from Iamus, who, according to Pindar, was the son of Apollo, and was instructed by him in the divining art. Near the statue of Thrasybulus there is a statue of Timosthenes the Elean, who conquered boys in the stadium: and after this there is a statue of Antipater the Milesian, the son of Clinopatrus, who vanquished boys in boxing. Certain Syracusans, who brought a sacrifice from Dionysius to Olympia, having bribed the father of Antipater, persuaded him to renounce his Syracusan son. But Antipater himself rejecting the gifts of the tyrant, asserted, that he was a Milesian, and testifies, in the inscription of his image, that he was the first of the Ionians that dedicated his own statue in Olympia. This statue was made by Polycletus: but Eutychides the Sicyonian, the disciple of Lysippus, made the statue of Timosthenes. This Eutychides, too, made for the Syrians who inhabit Orontes a statue of Fortune, who is greatly honoured by the inhabitants of this place.

But in Altis, near the statue of Timosthenes, there is a statue of Timon, and of Æsypus the son of Timon, as yet a youth, and sitting on a horse, at which age he conquered with the vaulting horse. But Timon was proclaimed victor in the chariot-race. The statues of these two were made by Dædalus the Sicyonian, who also made for the Eleans in Altis a trophy of their Lacedæmonian victory. There is also a statue of a Samian pugilist, with an inscription which signifies that it was dedicated by Mecon, the master of the gymnastic exercises, and that the Samians are the best of the Ionians, both in athletic and naval contests. But the inscription signifies nothing concerning the pugilist himself. There is a statue, too, here of Damiscus, which was dedicated by the Messenians. This Damiscus, when he was twelve years old, was declared victor in the Olympic games. This, however, appears to me remarkably admirable, that the same fortune deprived the Messenians of Peloponnesus, and of the Olympic games. For after they were driven from Peloponnesus, no one of the Messenians conquered in these games, either from Naupactus or Sicily, except Leontiscus and Symmachus, who were inhabitants of the strait; though the Sicilians contend, that these were not Messenians, but belonged to the ancient Zanclæans. But the fortune respecting the Olympic games returned with the Messenians to Peloponnesus; for in the year following their restoration, when the Eleans celebrated the Olympic games, this Damiscus vanquished boys in the stadium. And after this he was five times victorious in the Nemean and Isthmian games.

CHAPTER III.

NEAR Damiscus there is a statue of a man I am unacquainted with; for his name is not in the inscription. It was, however, dedicated by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who calls himself in the inscription a Macedonian, and at the same time king of Egypt. There is an inscription, too, on Chæreas the Sicyonian pugilist, which signifies that he was victorious when a boy, and that his father was Chæremon. It also informs us, that the statue was made by Asterion the son of Æschylus. After Chæreas there is a statue of Sophius a Messenian boy, and an Elean of the name of Stomius. The former of these vanquished boys in the course; but the latter was once victor in the Olympic quinquertium, and thrice in the Nemean games. The inscription, too, upon Stomius farther signifies, that he led the Elean horse; that having vanquished the enemy he erected a trophy; and that having challenged the general of the enemy's army to a single combat, he slew him. The Eleans report, that he came from Sicyon, and ruled over the Sicyonians; but that they led an army against Sicyon, through their friendship to the Thebans; and that they were assisted in this expedition by the Bœotians. It appears, therefore, that the Eleans and Thebans led an army against Sicyon, after the misfortune of the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra.

After these follows the statue of Labax the son of Euphron, who was a pugilist from the Lepreus of the Eleans. Next to this there is a statue of Aristodemus the son of Thrasis, who was a wrestler, and who was twice victorious in the Pythian games. This statue was made by Patrocles the disciple and son of the Sicyonian Dædalus. But the statue of Hippon the Elean pugilist, who is represented vanquishing boys, was made by the Sicyonian Democritus, who is referred to a fifth master, the Attic Critias. For the Corcyræan Ptolichus was instructed by Critias; Amphion was the disciple of Ptolichus; and Pison the Calaurean was instructed by Amphion, and Democritus by Pison. There is also a statue of Cratinus of Ægira, an Achaian city, who was both the most beautiful of all of his time, and excelled in the art of wrestling. This Cratinus having vanquished boys in wrestling, was so much honoured by the Eleans, that they suffered his statue to stand next to that of the master of the games. His statue was made by the Sicyonian Cantharus, whose father was Alexis, and master Eutychides. But Dædalus the Sicyonian framed the statue of the Elean Eupolemus. The inscription on this statue signifies, that Eupolemus conquered in the Olympic stadium, and that he was twice victorious in the Pythian, and once in the Nemean quinquertium.

It is also said of Eupolemus, that two of the three judges that presided over the course gave him the palm of victory, and that the third crowned Leon Ambracota: but that Leon, in consequence of the two judges having given the crown to Eupolemus, accused them before the Olympic council of having been corrupted by the money of Eupolemus. The Achaians, too, erected a statue to Oibotas, agreeable to the mandate of the Delphic Apollo, in the eighty-sixth Olympiad: but Oibotas conquered in the stadium in the sixth Olympiad. How then could Oibotas fight with the Greeks at Platææ (which is asserted by some), when Mardonius and the Medes were vanquished at Platææ, in the seventieth Olympiad? It is, therefore, necessary that I should relate what is reported by the Greeks, but there is no necessity that I should believe it to be true. The other particulars relating to Oibotas, I shall mention in my account of the Achaian affairs. But Nicodamus made the statue of Antiochus; and Antiochus was of Lepreum. In the Olympic pancratium he conquered once, and in the Isthmian and Nemean games twice in the same contest. For the Lepreatæ were not deterred from celebrating the Isthmian games, in the same manner as the Eleans were, at the time of Hysmon the Elean. Near Antiochus there is a statue of this Hysmon, who, when he contended in the quinquertium, was twice victor; once in the Olympic, and once in the Nemean games. But it is evident that he, as well as other Eleans, was excluded the Isthmian games. This Hysmon, when he was but a boy, is said to have applied himself to the quinquertium, to have cured by this means a weakness of the nerves with which he was afflicted, and to have received afterwards many illustrious crowns in this contest. His statue was made by Cleon, and holds in its hands ancient rope-dancers' weights.

After Hysmon there is a statue of a boy, that was a wrestler. His name was Nicostratus: and he was the son of Xenoclidas, and came from Heræa an Arcadian city. Pantias made this statue, who was the disciple in the seventh degree of Aristocles the Sicyonian. But Dicon the son of Callibrotus was five times victorious in the Pythian course, three times in the Isthmian, and four times in the Nemean; and in the Olympic games he was once victorious in the contest with boys, and twice in that with men. In Olympia, too, there are as many statues erected to him as he obtained victories. When he was a boy he was proclaimed a Caulonian, as indeed he was; but when he was a man, being corrupted by presents, he caused himself to be proclaimed a Syracusan. This Caulonia is a colony which was brought into Italy by the Achaians: and the leader of this colony was Typhon Ægiensis. But Pyrrhus the son of Æacides and the Tarentines warring on the Romans, many Italian cities were depopulated, some by Pyrrhus, and some by the Romans. Among these was Caulonia, which was captured and rendered desolate by the Campanians, who formed the greatest part of the Roman auxiliaries. Near the statue of this Dicon there is a statue of Xenophon the son of Menephylus; and who was a pancratiast from Ægium in Achaia. There is likewise a statue of the Ephesian Pyrilampes, who was victor in the Dolichos, or chariot race of twelve, or twenty-four stadia. The former of these statues was made by Olympus, the latter by the artist Pyrilampes, who was not a Sicyonian, but born at Messene in Ithome.

But the Samians dedicated the statue of the Spartan Lysander, the son of Aristocritus, in Olympia, with two inscriptions on it, the first of which is as follows:

Here in high-reigning Jove's illustrious fane,
The Samians publicly this gift devote.

This inscription therefore informs us by whom the statue was dedicated: but the next is in praise of Lysander:

Lysander! virtue's honours are thy own,
Immortal since thy country 's grown through thee,
And Aristocritus to glory raised.

It is evident, therefore, that the Samians and other Ionians, according to the Ionian proverb, whitened two walls out of the same earthen pot. For when Alcibiades had the Athenian fleet in readiness about Ionia, the greater part of the Ionians paid their court to him; and in consequence of this, the Samians erected a brazen statue to his honour in the temple of Juno. But when the Athenian ships were taken at Ægospotamos, the Samians erected a statue of Lysander in Olympia. The Ephesians also dedicated, in the temple of Diana, the statues of Lysander, Eteonicus, Pharax, and other Spartans, men with whom the Greeks were very little acquainted. Upon things, however, taking a different turn, and the Lacedæmonians being vanquished in a naval battle by Conon, who commanded the Athenian fleet at Cnidus and the mountain Dorion, the Ionians were so changed that they dedicated a brazen image of Conon, and one of Timotheus, in the temple of Juno at Samos; and in like manner at Ephesus in the temple of the Ephesian goddess. Indeed, this has ever been the case with all nations as well as the Ionians, that they have paid sedulous attention to those that surpassed others in riches and power.

CHAPTER IV.

After Lysander there is a statue of an Ephesian pugilist, who conquered in the contest with boys, and whose name was Athenæus. Near this there is a statue of the Sicyonian Sostratus, the pancratiast, and whose surname was Achrochersites. This name was given to him, because he used to seize the extremities of his adversaries' hands with great violence, and continue his grasp till he perceived they would yield from the vehemence of the pain. He was twelve times victorious, partly in the Nemean, and partly in the Isthmian games; twice in the Pythian, and thrice in the Olympic games. But the Eleans, in their commentaries, do not mention the one hundred and fourth Olympiad, in which Sostratus obtained his first victory, because they did not institute the games at this period, but the Pisæans and Arcadians instead of them. Near Sostratus there is a statue of Leontiscus the Sicilian pancratiast, who dwelt at Messene in the strait. He was crowned by the Amphictyons and Eleans; and he is said to have vanquished his adversaries in wrestling, in the same manner as Sostratus in the pancratium; for he did not throw them to the ground by struggling with them in a strenuous manner, but fraudulently gained the victory by vehemently grasping their fingers. Pythagoras Rheginus made his statue, an artist, who, if it could be ever said of any one, was certainly a good statuary. They report, that he was the disciple of Clearchus Rheginus, who was the pupil of Euchirus. This Euchirus was a Corinthian, and was instructed in his art by Syadras, and the Spartan Chartas.

But the boy, whose head is bound with a fillet, must not be passed over by us, for the sake of Phidias and his skill in making statues; as we do not know of any other person whose image was made by Phidias. The Elean Satyrus, too, whose father was Lysianax, and who was of the race of the Iamidæ, was five times victorious in Nemea in boxing, twice in the Pythian, and twice in the Olympic games. His statue was made by the Athenian Silanion. But Polycles, another Athenian statuary, who was the disciple of the Athenian Stadicus, made the statue of the pancratiast Amyntas, who was an Ephesian youth, and the son of Hellanicus. Chilon Achæus Patrensis was twice victorious in wrestling in the Olympic games, once at Delphos, four times in the Isthmian, and thrice in the Nemean games. He was buried at the public expense of the Achaians, and died in battle. The truth of my account is confirmed by the following inscription in Olympia:

Chilon alone, with men in wrestling, twice
The Olympian and the Pythian crown obtain'd:
The third he gained in Nemea, but the fourth
In Isthmus bordering on the sounding main:
In Patræ he was born, in battle slain,
And by the Achaians for his worth interr'd.

And thus much is evinced by the inscription. But if we may collect the war in which he fell from the age of Lysippus, who made his statue, it must either have been that at Chæronea with all the Achaians, or, through his virtue and courage, he alone of the Achaians must have opposed Antipater and the Macedonians at Lamia in Thessaly.

After Chilon there are two statues in a following order; one of Molpion, who, by the inscription, is said to have been crowned by the Eleans: upon the other there is no inscription; but it is said to be the statue of Aristotle the Stagirite, and to have been erected either by a disciple of his, or by some soldier; as Aristotle was much honoured by Antipater, and prior to this by Alexander. But Sodamas from Assos in Troy, situated under mount Ida, was the first of the Æolians, in this place, that conquered boys in the Olympic stadium. Near Sodamas there is a statue of Archidamus king of the Lacedæmonians, and son of Agesilaus. Before this Archidamus, I do not find that the Lacedæmonians erected any statue out of their dominions. But it appears to me, that they sent a statue of Archidamus to Olympia, both on account of his merit, and the manner of his death: for he fell among the Barbarians, and was the only king of the Spartans that was deprived of the honour of a tomb. These particulars, however, I have more copiously discussed in my account of the Spartan affairs. Euanthes, too, the Cyzicenian pugilist, conquered once in the Olympic games in contending with men; but with boys in the Nemean and Isthmian games. Near Euanthes there is a man who applied himself to the care of horses, a chariot, and a virgin ascending into the chariot. The name of the man was Lampus; and his country was the most recent of the Macedonian cities, and which was called after the name of Philip the son of Amyntas. But the statue of the boy Cyniscus, who was a pugilist from Mantinea, was made by Polycletus. And Ergoteles the son of Philanor, who conquered twice in the dolichos in Olympia, and twice in the Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean games, was not from the first an Himeræan, as the inscription upon him asserts, but a Cretan from Gnossus; from whence being banished by a sedition, and coming to Himæra, he was made a citizen by them, and received among them many other honours; so that with great propriety he was announced as an Himeræan in the games.

CHAPTER V.

But the statue which stands on a lofty basis is the work of Lysippus. This statue is the image of a man, who, excepting those that are called heroes, or the race of mortals prior to the heroes, if there was any such race, must have been the largest of all men. Polydamas, indeed, the son of Nicias, is a man of the greatest stature of any of the present age. Scotussa, the native country of this Polydamas, is not now inhabited. For Alexander, who reigned over the Pheræans, obtained the city by compact, and slew with arrows all the Scotussæans that were collected in the theatre (for they were ordered at that time to assemble together), by surrounding them with a band of men armed with half-moon shields, and a company of archers. He likewise slew all the young men, made slaves of the women and boys, and sold them to strangers for money. This calamity befel the Scotussæans when Phrasiclides was the Athenian archon, and in the one hundred and second Olympiad, in the second year of which Damon the Thurian was the second time victorious. The Scotussæans, too, had not been long exiled, before they were again through imbecility obliged to abandon their city; because all Greece at that time was, through a divine power, about to suffer great losses in war a second time through the Macedonians. Other persons, likewise, obtained illustrious victories in the pancratium; but Polydamas acquired renown in other things besides the crowns in the pancratium, of which the following relation is a proof:

The mountainous part of Thrace, which is within the river Nestus, that flows through the land of the Abderites, produces, among other wild beasts, lions. The camels which carried the provision of the army of Xerxes suffered greatly through these lions, which very often wandered into that part of the country which is situated about mount Olympus. And one side of this mountain looks towards Macedonia, but the other to Thessaly and the river Peneus. In this mountain Polydamas, perfectly unarmed, slew a large and strong lion, being incited to this daring attempt through a desire of emulating the achievements of

Hercules; because Hercules is reported to have vanquished a lion in Nemea. Polydamas likewise left behind him another wonderful instance of valour. Coming on a time to a herd of oxen, he seized the largest and fiercest ox among them by one of his hind feet. This he so strenuously held, that notwithstanding the leaping and struggling of the ox to get free, the animal was scarcely able at length to escape with the loss of its hoof. They farther add, that this same Polydamas was able to stop a chariot, when it was driven along rapidly by the charioteer, by only seizing it behind with one of his hands.

In consequence, therefore, of the reputation which he gained by these exploits, Darius, the bastard son of Artaxerxes, who, in conjunction with the common people of Persia, dethroned the legitimate son of Artaxerxes, this Darius, who had heard of the exploits of Polydamas, sent ambassadors, who through gifts and promises allured Polydamas to come to him at Susa. Here, when he arrived, he slew three of those men whom the Persians call *the Immortals*, and who fought him collectively. These exploits, which I have mentioned, are partly represented in the basis of the statue in Olympia, and partly evinced by the inscription. Polydamas, however, at length fell through too much confidence in his own strength, which, as Homer observes, has been the destruction of many. For once, through the heat of the weather, he and his companions entered into a cavern in order to repose themselves: and then, through some evil dæmon, it so happened that the top of the cavern had some wide gapes. Here, though the approaching danger was apparent, and the rest betook themselves to flight, Polydamas was determined to stay, and extended his hands as if he was able to support the falling mass. His efforts, however, were in vain, and he was buried in the ruins of the mountain.

CHAPTER VI.

But in Olympia, near the statue of Polydamas, there are two statues of Arcadian Athletæ, and a third of an Attic champion. One of these was a Mantinean, and was Protolaus the son of Dialces, who conquered in boxing with boys; and his statue was made by Pythagoras Rheginus. The second of these statues is that of Narcydas the son of Damaretus, who was a wrestler from Phigalia: and this statue was made by the Sicyonian Dædalus. The third statue is that of Callis the Athenian pancratiast, and was made by the painter Micon. The statue, too, of the Mænalian pancratiast, Androsthenes the son of Lochæus, who was twice victorious in contests with men, is the work of the Mænalian Nicodamus. After these follows the statue of Eucles the son of Callianax, who was a Rhodian, and of the house of the Diagoridæ; for he was the son of the daughter of Diagoras. This man was victorious in the Olympic contest of boxing with men: and his statue was the work of Naucydes. But the Argive Polycletus, not he that made the statue of Juno, but the disciple of Naucydes, made the statue of the Theban Agenor, who was a boy skilled in wrestling. This statue, too, was erected at the public expense of the Phocenses. For Theopompus, the father of Agenor, publicly entertained the Phocenses. The same Nicodamus, too, a statuary from Mænalus, made the statue of Damoxenidas, the Mænalian pugilist. There is also a statue here of Lastratidas an Elean boy, who obtained the crown in wrestling: and, in the Nemean games, he conquered the boys and beardless youths. But Paraballon, the father of Lastratidas, gained the victory in the repeated course.

Besides, that they might leave to posterity incentives to virtue and renown, they wrote the names of the conquerors in the Olympic gymnasium. But I must not here omit what is reported of the pugilist Euthymus, both of his victories and other things pertaining to his renown. The country then of Euthymus was Locris in Italy, near the promontory Zephyrium ; and his father was called Astycles: though the natives of this place affirm that he was born of of the river Cæcinas, which bounding Locris and Rhegium, affords a wonderful circumstance with respect to grasshoppers. For the grasshoppers within Locris, as far as to the river Cæcinas, sing like other grasshoppers; but in the parts beyond this river they do not sing at all. Of this river then they report Euthymus to be the son. But in the seventy-fourth Olympiad, having conquered as a pugilist in Olympia, he was not equally fortunate in the following Olympiad. For Theagenes the Thasian, desiring to conquer both in boxing and the pancratium, vanquished Euthymus in the cæstus, but was not able to obtain the crown in the pancratium, because he was worn out with the contest against Euthymus. Hence Theagenes was fined, by the decree of the judges of the games, one talent to Jupiter, and another talent to Euthymus, for the injury which his reputation had sustained; as he seemed to have undertaken this contest against Euthymus for no other purpose than that he might lessen his renown. And in the seventy-sixth Olympiad, indeed, Theagenes paid the money which he was fined to Olympian Jupiter; but discharged his debt to Euthymus, not by paying the money which he was fined, but by avoiding to contend with him.

In this Olympiad, therefore, and the following one, Euthymus was crowned in boxing. But his statue was the work of Pythagoras, and is worthy of inspection in the most eminent degree. Euthymus, after this, passing over into Italy, fought with a hero, of whom the following particulars are related. They say that Ulysses, during his wanderings after the destruction of Troy, among other cities of Italy and Sicily which he was driven to by the winds, came at length to Temessa with his ships. Here one of his associates having ravished a virgin, in consequence of being heated with wine, he was stoned to death by the inhabitants for the action. But Ulysses, who considered his death as of no consequence, immediately set sail and left the place. The dæmon, however, of the murdered man did not at any time cease from cutting off the inhabitants of Temessa of every age, till the Pythian deity ordered them to propitiate the slain hero, to consecrate a temple to him, and devote to him every year the most beautiful virgin in Temessa. When all this was performed agreeable to the mandate of the god, they were no longer afflicted through the wrath of the dæmon.

But Euthymus, who happened to arrive at Temessa at the time in which they sacrificed after the usual manner to the dæmon, having learned the particulars of this affair, requested that he might be admitted within the temple, and behold the virgin. His request being granted, as soon as he saw her he was at first moved with pity for her condition, but afterwards fell in love with her. In consequence of this, the virgin swore that she would cohabit with him, if he could rescue her from the impending death: and Euthymus arming himself, fought with the dæmon, conquered him, and drove him out of the country; and afterwards the hero vanished, and merged himself in the sea. They farther report, that in consequence of the city being freed through Euthymus from this grievous calamity, his nuptials were celebrated in a very splendid manner. I have likewise heard still farther concerning this Euthymus, that he lived to extreme old age, and that having avoided death, he departed after some other manner from an association with mankind. Indeed, I have even heard it asserted, by a sea-faring merchant, that Euthymus is alive at present at Temessa. And such are the reports which I have heard: but I also remember to have seen a picture, which was painted very accurately after an ancient original. In this picture there were the youth Sybaris, the river Calabrus, the fountain Calyca, and the cities Hera and Temessa. The dæmon, too, was represented in this picture, who was vanquished by Euthymus. His colour was vehemently black, and his whole form was terrible in the extreme. He was clothed with the skin of a wolf; and the name Lybas was given to him in the inscription on the picture. And thus much concerning particulars of this kind.

CHAPTER VII.

After the statue of Euthymus there are statues of Pytharcus the Mantinean, who ran in the stadium, and Charmides the Elean pugilist, each of which was victorious in the contest with boys. After you have beheld these, in the next place you will perceive the statues of the Rhodian Athletæ, of Diagoras and his family. But the statues which follow each other in a continued series, are Acusilaus receiving a crown for a victory gained in boxing with men; Dorieus the youngest, who won three successive victories in the Olympic pancratium. Before Dorieus, however, Damagetus conquered his competitors in the pancratium. And these were brothers and the sons of Diagoras. After these follows Diagoras himself, who was victorious in boxing with men, and whose statue was made by the Megarensian Callicles, who was the son of that Theocosmus that made the statue of Jupiter among the Megarenses. The sons, too, of the daughters of Diagoras were pugilists, and were victorious in the Olympic games: with men, indeed, Eucles, who was the son of Callianax and Callipatira, the daughter of Diagoras: but with boys, Pisidorus, whom his mother, having dressed like a man skilled in gymnastic exercises, led to the Olympic games. This Pisidorus is placed in Altis, near the statue of his mother's father. They report, that Diagoras himself came to Olympia together with his sons Acusilaus and Damagetus; and that his sons being victorious, he was carried through the vast concourse of people, the Greeks at the same time throwing flowers upon him, and calling him blessed through his children.

This Diagoras was a Messenian on his mother's side, and was the son of the daughter of Aristomenes. His son Dorieus, besides the Olympic victories which he gained, was eight times victorious in a continued series in the Isthmian, and seven times in the Nemean games. He is said, too, to have received in the Pythian games a crown without dust. Besides this, Dorieus and Pisidorus were pronounced by the voice of the crier to be Thurians, because, being driven by a faction from Rhodes, they came together with the Thurians to Italy. In after-times, however, Dorieus returned to Rhodes: and he appears to have been a man of all others the most openly studious of the Lacedæmonian affairs, so that he even fought with his own ships against the Athenians, till his three-oared galleys were taken, and he was brought alive to Athens. But then the Athenians, who before this circumstance had been highly exasperated against him, as soon as he was brought into their assembly commiserated the captive condition of so renowned a man, and giving way to the emotions of pity, dismissed him with impunity, though they had so many and such just causes of hatred against him. But as to what pertains to the death of Dorieus, this may be found in the account of the Attic affairs by Androtion. For, says he, when the royal fleet was at Caunum, and was commanded by Conon, the common people of the Rhodians were persuaded by Conon to revolt from the Lacedæmonians, and enter into alliance with the king and the Athenians. But Dorieus, who was then travelling from Rhodes to the country beyond Peloponnesus, was taken by certain Lacedæmonians, brought to Sparta, and after being condemned by the Lacedæmonians, as guilty of capital crimes, was by them put to death. If, therefore, this account of Androtion may be depended on, he appears to me, by this relation, to be desirous of bringing the Lacedæmonians into the same circumstances with the Athenians, who capitally condemned Thrasyllus, and those that fought with him at Arginussæ. And such was the renown which Diagorus and his posterity obtained.

Alcænetus Lepreates, likewise, who was the son of Theantus, and his sons, were victorious in the Olympic games. And Alcænetus himself, indeed, conquered in boxing with men, who, prior to this, had conquered in the same exercise with boys. But his sons Hellanicus and Theantus were declared victors in boxing with boys; the former of these in the ninety-eighth Olympiad, and the latter in the Olympiad which followed this. The statues, too, of all these are placed in Olympia. Gnatho Dipæensis from Mænala, and the Elean Lycinus, follow these statues of the sons of Alcænetus. These were pugilists, and each was victorious in a puerile contest in the Olympic games. And the inscription, indeed, upon Gnathon signifies, that when he was a young man, he conquered in the most eminent degree. His statue was made by the Megarensian Callicles. Near this is the statue of the Stymphalian Dromeus, whose name corresponds with his exercise: for in the longer chariot-race he was twice victorious in the Olympic, twice in the Pythian, thrice in the Isthmian, and five times in the Nemean games. It is said, that he was the first that eat animal food; for the Athletæ prior to him used to eat nothing but fig-cheese. His statue was made by Pythagoras, but that of the Elean Pythocles, who was victor in the quinquertium, and which follows this, was made by Polycletus.

CHAPTER VIII.

After these succeed the images of Socrates the Pellenean, who conquered boys in the course, and of the Elean

Amertas, who vanquished boys in wrestling in the Olympic, and men in the Pythian games. The artist that made the first of these is not mentioned: but the Argive Phradmon made the statue of Amertas. The Elean Evanoridas was victorious in wrestling with boys in the Olympic and Nemean games: and after he was made one of the judges of the games, he wrote an account of the victors in the games. With respect to the Parrhasian pugilist from Arcadia, whose name was Demarchus, all that is related of him, except his Olympic victory, I consider as the fictions of arrogant men; such as, for instance, that in a sacrifice to Lycæan Jupiter he changed himself into a wolf, and in the tenth year after this recovered again his pristine form. Neither does this fable appear to me to have originated from the Arcadians; as nothing of this kind is mentioned in the inscription on his statue, which is as follows:

From the Parrhasiæ in Arcadia sprung
Dinytta's son Demarchus this devotes.

But Eubotas the Cyrenæan, as the Libyan oracle had predicted to him that he would be victorious in the Olympic course, took care to have his statue made previous to his engaging in the race; and on the same day was declared victor, and dedicated his statue. It is also reported, that he conquered in the chariot-race in the same Olympiad: but this report, according to the Eleans, is false, and devised merely for the sake of the Arcadians who presided over the games. The statue of the Cleonæan Timanthes, who contended with men in the pancratium and was victorious, was made by the Athenian Myron; but Naucydes made the statue of the Trœzenian Bacis, who conquered in wrestling.

They report, too, that Timanthes died in the following manner: After he had withdrawn himself from athletic exercises on account of his age, he used every day to bend a large bow, for the purpose of making trial of his strength.

Happening, however, to take a journey, he omitted this exercise during his absence from home; and on his return attempted to bend his bow as usual: but finding that his strength failed him, he raised a funeral pile, and threw himself into the fire. This action, in my opinion, and any other of a similar kind, merits rather the imputation of insanity than the praise of fortitude. After Bacis there are images of Athletic Arcadians. And in the first place there is a statue of Euthymenes from Mænalus, who conquered in wrestling with men, and prior to this had been victorious in contending with boys. After this follows the statue of Azan Philippus the pugilist, who was victorious in contending with boys; and of Critodamus from Clitor, who was likewise a pugilist, and victorious over boys. Of these statues, that of Euthymenes was made by Alypus; of Critodamus by Cleon; and of Azan Philippus by Myron. But the particulars respecting the Pellenean Promachus the pancratiast, and the son of Dryon, we shall discuss in our account of the Achaian affairs. Not far from the statue of Promachus, there is a statue of the Delphic Timasitheus, which was made by the Argive Agelas. This Timasitheus was twice victor in the Olympic, and thrice in the Pythian pancratium. He was renowned, too, for his courage in war, and was fortunate in every thing but his death. For when the Athenian Isagoras seized on the tower of the Athenians, through a desire of reigning, Timasitheus was one of his party; and being among those that were seized in the tower, he was sentenced to death by the Athenians.

CHAPTER IX.

THEOGNETUS Æginetes, too, was victorious in wrestling with boys: and his statue was made by Polichus Æginetes The master of this Polichus was his father Synoon; and he was taught by the Sicyonian Aristocles, the brother of Canachus, and not much inferior to him in renown. But why the statue of Theognetus bears in its hand a planted pine-tree, and a pomegranate, I am not able to conjecture; though, perhaps the Æginetæ have some native tradition respecting this affair. After the statue of that man, who, according to the Eleans, was not numbered among the other victors, because he was announced conqueror in the course with two yoked mares;—after his statue, there is a statue of the Mænalian Xenocles, who vanquished boys in wrestling. Near him stands Alcetus Arcas, the son of Alcinous, and from Clitor, who vanquished boys in boxing. This statue was made by Cleon, but that of Xenocles by Polycletus. After this follows the Argive Aristeus, who conquered in the longer course, and whose father Chimon was victor in wrestling. These statues stand near each other: and the first of these was made by Pantius Chius, who was instructed in his art by his father Sostratus; but the two images of Chimon are, as it appears to me, among the most illustrious works of Naucydes, one of which was brought to Olympia, and the other to the temple of Peace in Rome, from Argos. They report, that Taurosthenes Æginetes was vanquished in wrestling by Chimon; and that Taurosthenes, in the following Olympiad, conquered all those that wrestled with him. They farther add, that a spectre resembling Taurosthenes was seen at Ægina on the same day, and announced his victory.

But the statue of the Elean Philles, who vanquished boys in wrestling, was made by the Spartan Cratinus. As to what pertains to the chariot of Gelon, my opinion does not very much differ from what others have asserted concerning it before me. For they say, that this chariot was the gift of a Gelon who tyrannized in Sicily: but the inscription evinces, that Gelon the son of Dinomenes dedicated the statue of Gelous. And the Gelon, of whom we are now speaking, conquered in the seventy-third Olympiad: but Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, began his reign in the second year of the seventy-second Olympiad, in which year Hybrilides was the Athenian archon, and Tisicrates the Crotonian was victor in the stadium. It is evident, therefore, that it was the Syracusan Gelon, and not Gelous, that gave the chariot. It appears, too, that this Gelon who conquered in the race was a private person, whose father bore the same name with the tyrant of Syracuse. But both the statue and chariot of Gelon were made by Glaucias Æginetes. In the Olympiad prior to this, it is said, that Cleomedes the Astypalæan slew in boxing the Epidaurian Iccus; for which action being deprived by the judges of the crown of victory, he became insane through grief. Afterwards, however, he returned to Astypalæa, and entering into the gymnasium, in which sixty boys were instructed, he tore down the pillar which supported the roof of the building. In consequence, therefore, of the roof falling on the boys, the citizens pursued him with stones, and he fled for refuge to the temple of Minerva. Here he shut himself up in a chest which was in the temple; and the Astypalæans having for a long time endeavoured to raise the lid, but without success, at length broke the chest. In this, however, they neither found Cleomedes alive nor dead; and having sent to Delphos to inquire into the meaning of this affair, the Pythian deity answered them as follows: "Cleomedes the Astypalæan was the last of the heroes. Him honour with sacrifices, as he is no longer a mortal." In consequence of this, the Astypalæans afterwards honoured Cleomedes as a hero. Near the chariot of Gelon there is a statue of Philon, the work of Glaucias Æginetes. Simonides the son of Leoprepes made a most apposite elegy on this Philon, and which is as follows:

Philon my name, but Glaucus was my sire;
Born in Corcyra, and for boxing famed,
I fought in two Olympiads, and subdued.

In the same place, too, Agametor the Mantinean pugilist stands, who was victorious over boys.

CHAPTER X.

Besides the statues which we have already mentioned, you will see Glaucus the Carystian, who, according to report, was born in Anthedon, a Bœotian city, and derived his original from Glaucus, a dæmon of the sea. His father was the Carystian Demylus: and they report, that at first he used to till the ground; but that the plough-share happening to fall from the plough, he restored it to its proper place with his hand instead of a mallet; and that his father, perceiving what he had done, brought him to Olympia as a pugilist. Here Glaucus, as being unskilled in this mode of fighting, was wounded by his antagonists, and when he came to fight with his last adversary, it was thought he would have yielded the victory through the multitude of his wounds. However, they say, his father called out to him, O boy! remember the blow of the ploughshare; and this roused his sinking courage to that degree, that he struck his antagonist with a violence which procured him the victory. He is also said to have obtained other crowns, two in the Pythian, eight in the Nemean, and eight in the Isthmian games. A son of this Glaucus dedicated his statue, which was made by Glaucias Æginetes. This statue is in the attitude of a man fighting with a shadow, because Glaucus was naturally the most dexterous of all of his time in fighting with his hand according to the rules of the art. But when he died, they report, that he was buried by the Carystii in that island which is even at present called the island of Glaucus.

But the Heræan Demaratus the son of Demaratus, and his grandsons, gained each of them two victories in the

Olympic games. And Demaratus, indeed, was victorious in the sixty-fifth Olympiad, in which the armed course was first instituted. His statue, which remains even at present, holds a shield, has a helmet on its head, and greaves on its legs. This mode, too, of contending in the course, was preserved in after times by the Eleans and the rest of the Greeks. But Theopompus the son of Demaratus, and a son of his of the same name, conquered in the quinquertium. A younger Theopompus, likewise, was victorious in wrestling: but I do not know who the artist was that made his statue. The inscription, however, on the statues of his father and grandfather evinces, that these were made by Eutelidas and Chrysothemis; but it does not inform us by whom these artists were instructed. This inscription is as follows:

> Argives, who by their ancestors were taught,
> Eutelidas, Chrysothemis, these statues made.

But Iccus the Tarentine, the son of Nicolaidas, was crowned in the Olympic quinquertium, and afterwards is said to have been the most skilful in gymnastic exercises of all his contemporaries. After Iccus, the Elean Pantarces stands, who conquered boys in wrestling, and who was the lover of Phidias.

The chariot of Cleosthenes the Epidamnian, which was made by Agelas, follows the statue of Pantarces. And behind this there is a statue of Jupiter, which was dedicated by the Greeks after the battle at Platæa. But Cleosthenes conquered in the sixty-sixth Olympiad: and together with his own statue he placed his horses and charioteer. The names of the horses, Phœnix and Corax, are inscribed: and Cnacias stands on the right side of the yoke, and Samus on the left. The following elegy, too, is inscribed on the chariot:

> Victor with horses in Jove's honoured games,
> Pontius Cleosthenes this chariot gave,
> Who to contend from Epidaurus came.

And, indeed, this Cleosthenes was the first of all the Greeks who applied themselves to the care of horses, that sent a statue to Olympia. For though the Athenian Miltiades and the Spartan Evagoras dedicated chariots, yet Evagoras does not stand on the chariot. But I shall relate, in another part of this work, what kind of gifts Miltiades dedicated in Olympia. The Epidamnii, even at present, possess that region which they did at first, but they have not now their ancient city, but one which is at a small distance from it, and which is called from its founder Dyrrachium. The statues, too, of Lycinus the Heræan, the Mantinean Epicradius, the Thasian Tellon, and the Elean Agiadas, who were victorious in contending with boys, (Lycinus, indeed, in the course, but the rest in boxing) succeed the statues we have before enumerated. Ptolichus Æginetes made the statue of Epicradius, but Serambus Æginetes that of Agiadas. The statue of Lycinus is the work of Cleon, but it is not known by whom the statue of Tellon was made.

CHAPTER XI.

AFTER these succeed the votive offerings of the Eleans, viz. Philip the son of Amyntas, Alexander the son of Philip, Seleucus, and Antigonus. The statue of Antigonus is that of a man on foot, but the rest are on horseback. Not far from these kings, there is a statue of the Thasian Theagenes the son of Timosthenes. The Thasians, however, deny that Theagenes was the son of Timosthenes; but assert, that when Timosthenes was about to sacrifice to the Thasian Hercules, a spectre of Hercules resembling Timosthenes was seen to have connexion with the mother of Theagenes; that the boy who was the result of this connexion, when he was nine years old, and was once returning home from his masters, being allured with the beauty of a brazen statue of a certain divinity which was erected in the forum, removed it from the place where it stood, and fixing it on one of his shoulders, took it to his own habitation. The anger of the multitude, however, being enkindled against him for this action, a certain person, who was much esteemed by them, and advanced in years, would not suffer them to destroy the youth, but ordered him to take the statue and replace it in the forum. After, therefore, he had taken it back again, the fame of his strength was spread far and near, and this action was celebrated throughout all Greece. But we have before related the achievements of Theagenes in the Olympic games, in which place also we mentioned that Euthymus was a pugilist, and how he was ordered by the Eleans to pay a fine to Theagenes. And then, indeed, a Mantinean, whose name was Dromeus, was the first we know of, that is said to have received a crown without dust. But in the Olympiad which followed this, Theagenes conquered in the pancratium. He was, likewise, thrice victorious in the Pythian games in boxing; nine times in the Nemean, and ten times in the Isthmian games, in contests in which boxing and the pancratium were united. But in the Thessalian Thia, neglecting the study of boxing and the pancratium, he endeavoured to become illustrious among the Greeks in the race. Hence, in the chariot-race of twelve or twenty-four stadia, he vanquished his competitors: and, as it appears to me, he was ambitious in the country of Achilles, who was the best of all the heroes, of conquering in the race. The number of the crowns which he obtained was one thousand four hundred.

But when Theagenes ceased to rank among men, one of his enemies placed himself by his statue every night, and burnt the brass, as if he could by this means injure Theagenes himself. The statue, however, at length fell on the man, and put an end to his insolence: but the children of this slain man called the statue to judgment for his destruction. In consequence of this, the Thasians, agreeable to the law of Draco, threw the statue into the sea. For this Draco, who composed bloody laws for the Athenians, ordered, that even inanimate things, when they were the occasion of destruction to mankind, should be exterminated the country. In process of time, however, the earth gave no produce to the Thasians; and they, sending to Delphos to inquire the reason of this, the god gave them for answer, that they should recal their exiles. Agreeable to this injunction, therefore, they recalled such as were banished, but yet found no remedy by this means for the sterility of the land. They, therefore, sent a second time to the Pythian oracle with this message; that they had been obedient to the commands of the god, and yet the anger of the divinities remained. The Pythian deity, therefore, answered them as follows: "You pay no regard to your great Theagenes." They report, therefore, that when the Thasians were considering by what means they might recover the statue of Theagenes, certain fishermen, that used to sail on the sea for the purpose of catching fish, drew up the statue in their net, and brought it on shore. The Thasians, therefore, having recovered the statue of Theagenes, and fixed it in its proper place, thought that they ought to sacrifice to Theagenes as to a god. In many other places, too, of Greece, and among the Barbarians, there are statues of Theagenes, by whom their diseases are healed, and who is reverenced as a divine person by the inhabitants. But the statues of Theagenes which are in Altis, were made by Glaucias Æginetes.

CHAPTER XII.

Near this there is a brazen chariot, into which a man is represented ascending, and on each side of the chariot there are horses which are used in vaulting, and boys seated on the horses. There are also monuments here of the Olympic victories of Hiero the son of Dinomenes, who, after his brother Gelon, reigned over the Syracusans. These offerings, however, were not sent by Hiero, but were dedicated to the divinity by Dinomenesa son of Hiero. But of these, the chariot was made by Onatas Æginetes; but the horses which stand on each side of the chariot were made by Calamis. Near the chariot of Hiero, there is a man of the same name with Dinomenes, who also reigned over the Syracusans. This man was Hiero the son of Hierocles. After the death of Agathocles, who first reigned over the Syracusans, this Hiero again usurped the tyranny. But he began his reign in the second year of the one hundred and twenty-third Olympiad, in which Olympiad the Cyrenæan Idæus was victor in the stadium. This Hiero was the guest of Pyrrhus the son of Æacides, and afterwards, from being his guest, his son Gelo married Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus. And, indeed, when the Romans warred on the Carthaginians about Sicily, the Carthaginians possessed more than half of the island, and Hiero joined himself to their party; but not long after, understanding that the forces of the Romans were more numerous and strong, he entered into an alliance with them. He ended his days, however, at length by means of Dinomenes, who was a Syracusan, but a great enemy to tyranny. Afterwards, too, this Dinomenes attacked Hippocrates the brother of Epicydes, who just then came from Erbessus to Syracuse, and endeavoured to raise a sedition among the populace. But Hippocrates valiantly defended himself, and Dinomenes at length fell through the blows of the attendants of Hippocrates. The sons of Hiero dedicated his statues in Olympia, one of which is on horseback, but the other on foot: but they were made by Micon the son of the Syracusan Nicocrates.

After the statues of Hiero there are statues of Areus the son of Acrotatus, and king of the Lacedæmonians, and of Aratus the son of Clinias: and, again, there is a statue of Aratus mounting a horse. The statue of Aratus was the gift of the Corinthians, but that of Areus of the Eleans. In the former part, too, of this description, I have not omitted to make mention of Areus and Aratus. But Aratus was proclaimed victor in the Olympic chariot-race. There is a brazen chariot, too, here of Timon the son of Ægyptus, and an Elean who sent horses to Olympia. An image of Victory is represented ascending into this chariot. After these, follow the statues of Callon the son of Harmodius, and Hippomachus the son of Moschion, both Elean pugilists, and both victorious over boys. The statue of Callon was made by Daippus, but I do not know who made that of Hippomachus. They say, that he fought with three adversaries without receiving either a bruise or wound in any part of his body. Here are also statues of Theocrestus the Cyrenæan, who applied himself to the care of horses, after the manner of Africans, and of his grandfather by his father's side, who was of the same name with him. Each of these was victorious in the horse-race of the Olympic games. But in the Isthmian games, the father of Theocrestus was victorious, as is evident from the inscription on his chariot. Hegesarchus the Tritæan, and the son of Hæmostratus, conquered in boxing with men in the Olympic games; and in the Nemean, Pythian, and Isthmian games, as is evident from the inscription. I likewise find, that what the inscription says is true, viz. that the Arcadians were the Tritæenses. For the origin of the illustrious cities in Arcadia are not unknown; but such as from the first were more imbecile and obscure, and on this account colonized in Magalopolis—these the decree which was passed by the common consent of the Arcadians, regularly comprehended in the catalogue of Arcadian cities: nor is there any other city Tritæa in Greece than that of the Achaians. On this account, therefore, some one may be of opinion, that the Tritæans were ranked among the Arcadians at that period, just as even at present some of the Arcadians are classed among the Argolics. But the statue of Hegesarchus was made by the children of Polycles, of whom we shall make mention hereafter.

CHAPTER XIII.

The statue of Astylus the Crotonian was the work of Pythagoras. This Astylus was victorious in three successive Olympiads in the repeated course. But as in the two last Olympiads he declared himself a Syracusan, for the sake of of Hiero the son of Dinomenes, on this account the Crotonians turned his house into a prison, and threw down his statue, which was dedicated in the temple of Juno in Lacedæmonia. In Olympia, too, there is a pillar, upon which the victories of the Lacedæmonian Chionis are inscribed. But those are certainly stupid who are of opinion that this pillar was dedicated by Chionis, and not by the Lacedæmonians in common. For as the inscription on the pillar evinces that the course with the shield was not then instituted, how could Chionis know that this mode of contending would be hereafter instituted by the Eleans? But those are still more stupid who think that the statue which stands by the pillar is that of Chionis, since it is the work of the Athenian Myron. A certain Lycian, however, viz. Hermogenes Xanthius, very much resembled Chionis in renown; for in three Olympiads he was eight times crowned, and on this account was surnamed by the Greeks *the horse.* Polites, too, demands great admiration. He was of Ceramus, a town in Thracian Caria, and deserves all possible praise for the swiftness of his feet in the Olympic race. For he aptly contracted the course from the longest and most extended race to the shortest and swiftest, and this in the shortest space of time. And when in the same day he had first conquered in the longer course, and afterwards in the stadium, he added to these victories a third in the repeated course of the stadium. Polites, therefore, on the second day of the course, when four only, chosen by lot, and not all the contending parties, are permitted to run, was then victor in the course, and thus obtained a double crown in the stadium.

But as to what pertains to the course, Leonidas the Rhodian was the most illustrious; for he was victorious in four Olympiads, in which, through the swiftness of his feet, he was twelve times conqueror. Not far from the pillar of Chionis in Olympia, there is a statue of the pugilist Duris the Samian, who was victorious in contending with boys. The statue was made by Hippias: and the inscription signifies, that Duris conquered when the Samians abandoned the island; but that the statue was dedicated when they were restored to their ancient habitations. Near the image of the tyrant there is a statue of Diallus the son of Pollis. This Diallus was a Smyrnæan, and was, as they report, the first of the Ionians that in Olympia was crowned in the pancratium in contending with boys. The two following statues, viz. that of Thersilochus the Corcyræan, and Aristion the Epidaurian, the son of Theophiles, the former of whom conquered boys in boxing, and the latter men, were made by the Argive Polycletus. But the statue of Bycellus, who was the first of the Sicyonians that vanquished boys in boxing, was made by the Sicyonian Canachus, who was the disciple of the Argive Polycletus. Near Bycellus there is a statue of Mnaseas the Cyrenean in heavy armour, whose surname was Libys, and whose statue was made by Pythagoras Rheginus. But the inscription on the statue of Agemachus of Cyzicus from the continent of Asia, signifies that the statue was made in Argos. At present, however, not even the ruins of Naxos in Sicily, which was once built by the Chalcidenses, near Euripus, remain. And that the name of Naxos is transmitted to posterity, was principally owing to Tisander the son of Cleocritus; for he was four times victorious in boxing in Olympia, and as many times in the Pythian games.

But at that time books were not composed either by the Corinthians or Argives, giving an account of the Isthmian and Nemean victors. The mare, too, of the Corinthian Phidolas, whose name, according to the Corinthians, was Aura, must not be suffered to pass unnoticed. This mare, after her rider had fallen off, held on her course from the barriers just as if he had kept his seat, and turned herself about the goal; but as soon as she heard the sound of the trumpet, she ran with the utmost rapidity, and presenting herself before the judges of the games, stood as if she was conscious of having gained the victory. The Eleans, therefore, having declared Phidolas conqueror, permitted him to dedicate the statue of his mare. Lycus also, the son of Phidolas, and his sons, were victors with the vaulting horse; and the conquering horse stands on a pillar with the following inscription on it:

With rapid coursers in the Isthmian games
Lycus once conquer'd; in the Olympic twice;
And thus Phidolas' house with honour crown'd.

This inscription, however, does not accord with the writings of the Eleans respecting the Olympic victories; for the victory of the sons of Phidolas, in these writings, is referred to the sixty-eighth Olympiad, and no farther. This matter, however, I shall leave to the investigation of others. In the next place, the statues of the Eleans, Agathinus the son of Thrasybulus, and Telemachus, succeed. The latter of these was victor in the course with horses; but the statue of

Agathinus was dedicated by the Achaian Pellenenses. The Athenian people, too, dedicated the statue of Aristophon the pancratiast, who was the son of Lycinus, and who conquered men in the Olympic games.

CHAPTER XIV.

But Pherias Æginetes, (for his statue is next to that of the Athenian Aristophon) in the seventy-eighth Olympiad, was ordered to withdraw from the games, because he was a very young man, and was not thought capable of contending in wrestling: but being admitted the following year as a wrestler, he vanquished the boys that opposed him. The fortune, however, of Hyllus the Rhodian, in the Olympic games, was, in no respect, similar to that of Pheras: for when he was eighteen years of age, he was forbidden by the Eleans to contend in wrestling with boys, but was by the public crier ranked among men, over whom he was victorious. Afterwards, too, he was declared victor in the Nemean and Isthmian games: but in the twentieth year of his age, he was snatched away by an untimely death, before he could revisit Rhodes, the place of his nativity. The bold action, however, in Olympia, of the wrestler Rhodius, was, in my opinion, surpassed by that of Artemidorus Trallianus. For Artemidorus, through the imbecility of his puerile age, having lost the victory in the Olympic pancratium with boys, came to the Smyrnæans in Ionia, at the time when they were celebrating their games; and at this period his strength was so much increased, that on the same day he vanquished his antagonists from Olympia, the youths whom they call beardless, and in the third place the best of the men. They report that he contended with the beardless youths, in consequence of the exhortations of the gymnastic master; but with men, through the reproaches of a certain pancratiast. But Artemidorus was crowned for contending with men in the one hundred and twenty-second Olympiad.

After the statue of Hyllus, there is a brazen horse of no great magnitude, which was dedicated by Crocon Eretriensis, who was crowned for having gained a victory with the vaulting horse. Near this horse there is a statue of the Messenian Telestas, who conquered boys in boxing. This statue was made by Silanion. But the statue of Milo from Crotonia, who was the son of Diotimus, was made by Dameas the Crotonian. This Milo was six times victorious in wrestling in the Olympic games, and one of these victories was over boys. He likewise came a seventh time to wrestle in these games; but as his antagonist was a young man, Timasitheus, who was his fellow-citizen, he refused to contend with him on this account. Milo, too, is said to have carried his own statue to Altis: and it is farther reported of him, that he held a pomegranate so fast in his hand, that it could neither be forced from him by another person, nor could he himself dismiss it from his grasp. And as he once stood anointing his quoit, he made those appear ridiculous who by rushing against him endeavoured to push him from the quoit. The following circumstance, too, evinces the greatness of his strength. He would bind his forehead with a cord, in the same manner as with a fillet or a crown; and afterwards compressing his lips, and holding in his breath, he would so fill the veins of his head with blood, that he would burst the cord through the strength of the veins. It is also said, that having let fall against his side that part of the arm which reaches from the shoulder to the elbow, he would extend the other part, which reaches from the elbow to the fingers, with his thumb turned upwards, and his fingers placed close together; and that when his hand was in this position, no one by the greatest exertions could separate his little finger from the rest.

They say, that he died through wild beasts: for happening in the borders of Crotonia to meet with a withered oak, into which wedges were driven in order to separate the wood, he endeavoured, through confidence in his strength, to tear the oak asunder. In consequence of this the wedges giving way, Milo was caught by the closing parts, and was thus torn in pieces by the wolves with which that country is much infested. And such was the end of Milo. But the statue of Pyrrhus the son of Æacides, who reigned in the Thesprotian Epirus, and who accomplished many things worthy of being remembered, which I have related in my account of the Attic affairs, was placed in Altis by the Elean Thrasybulus. Near Pyrrhus, too, there is a statue of a little man with pipes in his hands, and standing on a pillar. This man was victorious in the contest with pipes, the first after the Argive Sacadas. But Sacadas first conquered in those games instituted by the Amphictyons, in which the victors were not crowned; and after these he received two crowns for two victories which he obtained. After this follows the statue of Pythocritus the Sicyonian, who only played on the pipe, and was six times victorious. But it is evident, that he played six times in the quinquertium of the Olympic games. For these victories a pillar was raised to Pythocritus in Olympia, with this inscription on it: MONUMENTS OF PYTHOCRITUS CALLINICUS THE PIPER. The Ætolians, too, by a public decree, dedicated the statue of Cydonus, who freed the Eleans from the tyranny of Aristotimus.

The statue of the Messenian Gorgus the son of Eucletus, who conquered in the quinquertium, was made by the Bœotian Theron; but the statue of the Messenian Demaratus, who conquered boys in boxing, was made by the Athenian Silanion. Anauchidas the Elean, the son of Philys, was victorious over boys in wrestling, and afterwards over men: but I do not know by whom his statue was made. This statue of the Tarentine Anochus the son of Adamatas, who was victorious in the stadium and in the repeated course, was made by the Argive Ageladas. But the boy sitting on a horse, and the man standing by the horse, represent, according to the inscription, Xenombrotus from Co in Meropis, who was proclaimed victor in the equestrian course. This was the work of Philotimus Æginetes: but Xenodicus, who conquered boys in boxing, was made by Pantias. The statue of Pythes the son of Andromachus of Abdera, was made by Lysippus: but his soldiers dedicated two statues. It appears, indeed, that Pythes was either the leader of certain mercenary troops, or in some other instance illustrious in warlike affairs. Here are also statues of boys who were victorious in the course, viz. Meneptolemus from Apollonia, which is in Ionia; and the Corcyræan Philon. After these follows Hieronymus Andrius, by whom the Elean Tisamenus was vanquished in wrestling in the Olympic quinquertium. This was the Tisamenus who was afterwards employed by the Greeks as a prophet against Mardonius and the Medes at Platæa. Near Hieronymus there is a statue of a boy, a wrestler, who was likewise an Andrian. This boy is Procles the son of Lycastidas: and the former of these statues was made by Stomius, and the latter by Somis. The Elean Æschines, too, was twice victorious in the quinquertium: and statues are raised to him equal in number to his victories.

CHAPTER XV.

Archippus the Mitylenæan, who conquered men in boxing, is also celebrated by his fellow-citizens on the following account; for they report, that when he was not more than twenty years old he was victorious in the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games. But the statue of Zeno the son of Calliteles, who came from Lepreum in Triphylia, and who conquered boys in the stadium, was made by the Messenian Pyrilampes. I cannot, however, tell by whom the statue of the Elean Clinomachus, who conquered in the quinquertium, was made. The inscription on the Elean Pantarces signifies, that it was dedicated by the Achaians; because he made peace between the Achaians and Eleans, and took care that the captives on each side should be exchanged. He conquered, too, with the vaulting horse in the Olympic games, and a monument of his victory remains in Olympia. The statue of the Elean Olidas was dedicated by the nation of Ætolians. There is also a statue of the Elean Charinus, who conquered in the repeated course, and in the armed race. Near him stands Ageles Chius the pugilist, who conquered boys: and this statue was made by the Sardian Theomnestus. The statue of the Theban Clitomachus was made by Hermocrates the father of Clitomachus. The illustrious achievements of this Clitomachus are as follow. In the Isthmian games he vanquished men in wrestling; and on the same day bore away the prize in boxing, and conquered in the pancratium. In the Pythian pancratium he was thrice victorious: but in the Olympic games he was declared the second in the pancratium, and in boxing, to the Thasian Theagenes. And he was victorious, indeed, in the pancratium in the forty-first Olympiad; and in the following Olympiad he contended both in the pancratium and in boxing.

On the same day, too, the Elean Caprus came forth, who professed himself both a wrestler and a pancratiast: and Caprus being declared victor in wrestling, Clitomachus informed the judges of the games, that, according to justice, he ought to engage in the pancratium before he was wounded in boxing. He said, indeed, nothing more than was reasonable: and in consequence of this being permitted to contend, he was vanquished in the pancratium by Caprus, but in boxing he employed great strength of mind, and an untamed vigour of body. But the Ionian Erythræans dedicated the statue of Epitherses the son of Metrodorus, who was twice victor in the Olympic, and as many times in the Pythian games. He likewise conquered in boxing in the Isthmian and Nemean games. The Syracusans, too, publicly dedicated two statues of Hiero; and a third was dedicated by his sons. A little before this, I have shown that this Hiero was a Syracusan as well as the king of the same name. The Palenses, likewise, who form a fourth part of the Cephalenians, have dedicated a statue of the Elean Timoptolis the son of Lampis. These Palenses were formerly called Dulichii. Archidamus, too, the son of Agesilaus, stands here: and near him there is a man in a hunting dress, with whom I am unacquainted. But any one may know that the statue of Demetrius, who warred against Seleucus, and of his son Antigonus, were dedicated by the Byzantians. The Spartan Eutelidas, indeed, conquered boys in wrestling in the thirty-eighth Olympiad, and was once victorious in the quinquertium: for then, for the first time, the contest with boys, and afterwards the quinquertium, was introduced.

The statue, too, of Eutelidas is ancient: and the letters which are cut in the base of the statue are obscure through length of time. After Eutelidas there is again a statue of Areus king of the Lacedæmonians; and near him stands the Elean Gorgus. This Gorgus alone, of all the men to the present day, was four times victorious in the Olympic quinquertium, once in the repeated course, and once in the armed race. The man with boys by his side, is said to be Ptolemy the son of Lagus. After him follow two statues of Caprus the son of Pythagoras, who on the same day conquered in wrestling and in the pancratium. This Caprus was the first that, in one day, was victorious in both these contests. Who his adversary in the pancratium was I have shown before: but in wrestling he vanquished the Elean Pæanius, who in the former Olympiad was declared victor in wrestling. He likewise vanquished boys in boxing, in the Pythian games; and again in contending with men, on the same day, was victorious in wrestling and boxing. Caprus, therefore, did not gain his victories without mighty labour, and strenuous exertions.

CHAPTER XVI.

THERE are statues, too, in Olympia of Anauchidas and Pherenicus. These were Elean pugilists, who were victorious over boys. But it was the Thespians that dedicated the statue of Plistænus the son of Eurydamus, and who led the Ætolians against the Gauls. The Elean Tydeus was dedicated by Antigonus the father of Demetrius, and by Seleucus. The name of Seleucus is illustrious among all nations for his achievements, and particularly for the capture of Demetrius. Timon, too, was victorious in the quinquertium of all the Grecian games except the Isthmian, from which he was excluded, as well as the rest of the Eleans. The inscription on his statue signifies, among other things, that he partook of the expedition of the Ætolians against the Thessalians, and that through the friendship of the Ætolians he presided over the guard in Naupactus. Not far from the statue of Timon there are statues of Greece and Elis. The statue of Greece is represented with one hand crowning Antigonus, who was the tutor of Philip, the son of Demetrius; and with the other, Philip: but Elis crowns Demetrius, who warred on Seleucus and Ptolemy the son of Lagus. Again, the Elean Aristides was victorious in the Olympic armed race: and the inscription on his statue evinces, that he conquered in the Pythian repeated course, and, in the Nemean games, in the equestrian race with boys. These equestrian courses consist of two repeated races: The emperor Adrian restored this mode of running to the Argives, which had been intermitted in the Nemean and Isthmian games, and permitted it to be celebrated in the winter Nemean games.

Near the statue of Aristides the Elean Menalcas stands, who was victorious in the Olympic quinquertium; and after him Philonides the son of Zotus, who came from the Cretan Cherronesus. These are followed by the statue of Alexander the son of Philip, who conquered in that course which is called *Hemerodromos*, because a great space is run through in one day. After this there is a statue of the Elean Brimias, who vanquished men in boxing; and of Leonidas from Naxos, an island in the Ægean sea. This statue was dedicated by the Psophidii, a nation of Arcadians. There is also a statue here of Asamon, who conquered men in boxing; and of Nicander, who was twice victorious in the Olympic repeated course, and six times in the Nemean games in the race and repeated course. But Asamon and Nicander were Eleans: and the statue of the former was made by Daippus, but of the latter by the Messenian Pyrilampes. After these statues follow the Elean Eualcis, and the Lacedæmonian Seleadas; the former of which conquered boys in boxing, but the latter men in wrestling. Here, too, a chariot of no great magnitude is dedicated, which belonged to Polypithes Lacon: and upon the same pillar there is a statue of the wrestler Calliteles, the father of Polypithes. With respect to their victories, Calliteles conquered in wrestling, but Polypithes in the horse-race.

The Psophidii, too, dedicated the statues of private men among the Eleans, viz. Lampus the son of Arniscus, and Aristarchus, either on account of their hospitality, or from their benevolence to them for their worth in other respects. The Elean Lysippus stands between these who vanquished boys in wrestling: and his statue was made by the Argive Andreas. But the Lacedæmon Dinosthenes conquered men in the Olympic stadium, and placed a pillar with his statue on it in Altis. The road from this Olympic pillar, to the other pillar which is raised in Lacedæmonia, is six hundred and sixty stadia in length. Every one knows, too, that Theodorus, who was victorious in the quinquertium, Pyttalus the son of Lampis, who conquered boys in boxing, and Nelaidas, who was victorious in the stadium and armed course, were Eleans. It is also farther reported of Pyttalus, that he was appointed as an arbitrator, in determining the dispute between the Arcadians and Eleans concerning the boundaries of their lands. His statue was made by the Olynthean Sthenis. After this follows Ptolemæus sitting on a horse; and near him is the Elean athletic, Pæanius the son of Demetrius, who was once victorious in wrestling in the Olympic games, and twice in the Pythian games. There is also a statue of the Elean Clearestus, who was crowned in the quinquertium: and a chariot of the Athenian Glaucon the son of Eteocles, who was declared victor in the course of the perfect chariot-race.

CHAPTER XVII.

And such are the particulars principally worthy of observation, which will present themselves to the view of him who walks about Altis in the order we have laid down. But if you pass from the monument of Leonidas to the great altar, keeping to the right hand, you will observe the following things which deserve to be mentioned. In the first place, Democrates the Tenedian, and Crianius the Elean; the latter of which was victorious in the armed course, but the former in wrestling with men. Of these statues, that of Democrates was made by the Milesian Dionisicles; but that of Crianius by the Macedonian Lysus. The statues of the Clazomenian Herodotus and Philinus of Cos, the son of Hegepolis, were dedicated by their respective countries.

For the Clazomenians erected the statue of Herodotus, because he was the first of that city who conquered in the stadium in contending with boys. But the Coi dedicated that of Philinus, on account of his great renown: for he was five times victorious in the Olympic course, four times in the Pythian, and as many in the Nemean games; and in the Isthmian he was eleven times victorious. The statue of Ptolemy, the son of that Ptolemy who was the son of Lagus, was the gift of the Macedonian Aristolaus. In this place, too, there is a statue of the pugilist Butas the Milesian, the son of Polynices, who vanquished boys; and of Callicrates of Magnesia in Lethæus, who was twice victorious in the armed course. This statue of Callicrates was the work of Lysippus. After these follow Emaution, who conquered in the stadium with boys, and Alexibius, who was victorious in the quinquertium. The country of this Alexibius was Hera, an Arcadian town; and his statue was made by Acestor. But the inscription on the statue of Emaution does not inform us who he was, though it is evident that he was an Arcadian.

In the next place, the Colophonians have dedicated the statue of Hermesianax the son of Agoneus, and of Icasius the son of Lycinus by the daughter of Hermesianax. Each of these conquered boys in wrestling: and the statue of Hermesianax was publicly dedicated by the Colophonians. Near these there are two Elean pugilists who vanquished boys, viz. Sthenis, which was made by the Olynthian Choerilus, and Theotimus, the work of the Sicyonian Dætondas. This Theotimus was the son of Moschion, who joined Alexander the son of Philip in his war against the Persians. After these there are again two Eleans, Archidamus, who conquered in the race with four horses; and Eperastus the son of Theogonus, who was victorious in the armed course. This Eperastus was a prophet belonging to the family of the

Clytidæ, as is evident from the latter part of the inscription on his statue:

From the prophetic Clytidæ I sprung,
Myself a prophet, from the sacred blood
Descended of Melampus' godlike race.

For Melampus was the son of Amythaon, Mantius of Melampus, Oicles of Mantius, and Amphiaraus of Oicles. Alcmæon was the son of this Amphiaraus, who by the daughter of Phegeus had a son of the name of Clytius. This Clytius migrated to Elis, refusing to associate with the brothers of his mother, because he knew that they had attempted the death of Alcmæon.

After this you will see the statues of men of no great renown, mingled with offerings. The first among these is the Elean Alexinicus, the work of the Sicyonian Cantharus. This Alexinicus conquered boys in wrestling. Then follows Gorgias the Leontine, which they report was dedicated by Eumolpus, the great grandson of Deicrates, who was married to the sister of Gorgias. The father of this Gorgias was Carmantis; and he is said to have been the first that restored the art of composing studied speeches, which was at that time almost universally neglected, and had sunk into oblivion through the few by whom it was possessed. They report, too, that Gorgias, on account of his eloquence, was celebrated in the grand assembly at the Olympic games, and rendered himself illustrious by the embassy to the Athenians, which he executed in conjunction with Tisias: though, indeed, Tisias both added other ornaments to the art of speaking, and composed an oration concerning a pecuniary strife for a Syracusan woman, and this with such weighty persuasions, that he surpassed all the orators of his time. But Gorgias was much more illustrious among the Athenians than Tisias: and Jason, who reigned in Thessaly, esteemed Gorgias much more than Polycrates, who was by no means the last among the Athenians for eloquence. They say, too, that Gorgias lived to the age of one hundred and five years. And the city of the Leontines, which was formerly laid waste, by the Syracusans, is at present restored.

CHAPTER XVIII.

In the same place there is also a brazen chariot of the Cyrenæan Cratisthenes; into which Victory and Cratisthenes himself are represented ascending. It is evident, therefore, from hence, that he was victorious with horses. It is reported, that Cratisthenes was the son of the racer Mnaseas, who was surnamed by the Greeks Libs. Pythagoras Rheginus was the artificer of this Olympic gift. I have discovered, too, that there is a statue of Anaximenes in this place, who wrote an account of the ancient affairs of the Greeks, and of the transactions of Philip and Alexander. The Lampsaceni paid him this honour in Olympia in memorial of his worth. For Alexander the son of Philip, was by no means of a disposition perfectly gentle, but on the contrary subject to fits of violent anger. Anaximenes, therefore, when Alexander was once vehemently enraged with the Lampsaceni, and threatened them with the greatest evils, because they had either revolted to the king of the Persians, or were suspected of having done so, mitigated his wrath by the following stratagem. When through anxiety for their wives, children, and country, they sent Anaximenes to Alexander to supplicate for them, as he had formerly been known both to Alexander and Philip; and when Alexander, knowing the cause of his coming, had sworn by the gods of the Greeks, that he would do every thing contrary to the entreaties of Anaximenes—then Anaximenes addressed him as follows: "O king! I beseech you to grant me this favour, that the women and children of the Lampsaceni may be enslaved, that the city may be entirely razed from its foundation, and that their temples of the gods may be burnt." But Alexander, who could not find any means of eluding this sophism, and calling to mind the necessity of his oath, unwillingly pardoned the Lampsaceni.

This same Anaximenes, too, appears to have revenged himself on an enemy in a very skilful manner indeed, but, at the same time, invidiously. For being naturally a sophist, and imitating the discourses of the sophists, in consequence of a disagreement taking place between him and Theopompus, the son of Damasistratus, he wrote a book against the Athenians, Lacedæmonians, and Thebans, full of revilings; and as he was a most accurate imitator, he had copied the manner of Theopompus in this book in the most exquisite degree; and, therefore, circulated it through all the Grecian cities with the name of Theopompus prefixed to it. In consequence of this, Theopompus was hated by every part of Greece. Indeed, prior to Anaximenes, no one ever attempted to make an extemporary oration. As to the verses upon Alexander, they do not appear to me to have been composed by Anaximenes. Again, Sotades was victor in the longer Olympic course in the ninety-ninth Olympiad. He was announced a Cretan, as indeed he was: but in the Olympiad following this, having received money from the Ephesians in common, he called himself an Ephesian; for which offence he was punished with exile by the Cretans. The statues of the Athletæ that were first dedicated in Olympia, were those of Praxidamas Æginetes, who conquered in boxing in the fifty-ninth Olympiad; and of Rhexibius the Opuntian, who was victorious over the pancratiasts in the sixty-first Olympiad. These statues are placed not far from the pillar of Œnomaus. They are made, too, of wood: but that of Rhexibius is from the fig-tree, and that of Praxidamas from the cypress-tree, and is less damaged than the other.

CHAPTER XIX.

In Altis, too, there is a fountain of porous stone, near the northern part of the temple of Juno: for the southern part belongs to the temple of Saturn. Above this fountain there are treasuries, such as the Greeks dedicate to Apollo. There is also a treasury in Olympia, which is called the treasury of the Sicyonians. This was dedicated by Myron the Sicyonian tyrant, in consequence of having obtained a victory in the chariot-race in the thirty-third Olympiad. In this treasury he made two bed-chambers, one after the Doric, and the other after the Ionic manner. They are both of brass, and I have myself seen them: but I am not certain whether or not they are of Tartesian brass, though this is asserted by the Eleans. They report, indeed, that Tartessus is a Spanish river; that it pours itself into the sea from two mouths; and that there is a city of the same name with this river, situated in the middle of the mouths of the river. This river, which is the greatest in Spain, and which ebbs and flows like the sea, was called by men of a latter age Bætis. But there are those who think that Carpeia, a city of Iberia, was formerly called Tartessus. In Olympia, too, there is an inscription on the lesser of the bed-chambers, which signifies that the weight of the brass is equivalent to five hundred talents; that it was publicly dedicated by the Sicyonians; and that it was made by Myron.

In this treasury there are three quoits, which they use in the contest of the quinquertium. There is also a shield in it covered with a lamina of brass, and adorned in its inward parts with various pictures; a helmet besides, and greaves. The inscription on these arms signifies, that these are spoils dedicated to Jupiter by the Myones. Who these people are is far from being determined. I remember, indeed, that Thucydides, in his account of the Locrians, mentions among other cities which are near Phocis the Myonenses. The Myones, therefore, that are mentioned in the shield, are in my opinion the same with the Myonenses in the continent of Locris. But the letters on the shield, through length of time, are almost all of them nearly abolished. There are, likewise, other things placed here which deserve to be related. A sword of Pelops, the hilt of which is of ivory and gold; and a horn of Amalthea, which was the gift of Miltiades, the son of Cimon, who was the first of that house that reigned in the Thracian Cherronesus. The following inscription is on the horn, and is written in ancient Attic letters:

Me Cherronesus, when Aratus' walls
Conducted by Miltiades it took,
Sent as an offering to Olympian Jove.

There is also a statue of Apollo made of box-wood in the same place. The head of this statue is covered with gold, and is said to have been dedicated by the Locrians who dwell near the promontory Zephyrium. The artist by whom it was made was the Crotonian Patrocles, the son of Catyllus.

Near this treasury of the Sicyonians there is a treasury of the Carthaginians, which was made by Pόthæus, Antiphilus, and Megacles. In it are the following offerings: a Jupiter of a great magnitude, and three linen coats of mail. These were the gifts of Gelo, and the Syracusans, when they conquered the Carthaginians, either in a naval or land engagement. The third and fourth treasury is the gift of the Epidamnians. In this there is Atlas sustaining the heavens; Hercules; an apple-tree belonging to the Hesperides; and a dragon folding itself about the tree. All these are of cedar, and were made by Theocles the son of Etylus. The inscription on the heavens signifies, that one Autonomus had these made for his son. But the Hesperides (for they were transferred to another place by the Eleans), are at present in the temple of Juno. The treasury itself was made for the Epidamnians, by Pyrrhus and his children Lacrates and Hermon. The Sybaritæ, too, built a treasury, which is next to that of the Epidamnians. Those, indeed, that have more minutely investigated the particulars respecting Italy and its cities, say, that Lupias, which is situated between Brundusium and Hydrus, has changed its name; because it was formerly called Sybaris. In this place there is a port built for ships, the work of the emperor Adrian. Near the treasury, too, of the Sybarites, there is a treasury which was dedicated by the Libyans in Cyrene. In this there are images of the Roman emperors.

But the Carthaginians drove the Selinuntii from their residence in Sicily. These people, before this calamity befel them, dedicated a treasury to Olympian Jupiter. In this treasury there is a Bacchus, whose face, feet, and hands are made of ivory. But in the treasury of Metapontines (for this follows that of the Selinuntii) there is a statue of Endymion. All the parts of this statue, except the garment, are made of ivory. What, indeed, was the cause of the destruction of the Metapontines I have not been able to find. At present, nothing of their city remains but a theatre, and the inclosure of the walls. The Megarenses also, who dwell near the Attic land, built a treasury, and dedicated in it images made of cedar, and painted with gold, so as to resemble flowers, viz. the battle of Hercules with the river Achelous. Jupiter, too, and Deianira are present: Mars stands by Achelous, and Minerva by Hercules, as being his assistant in war. These are now placed with the Hesperides in the temple of Juno. About the top of the treasury the battle of the gods and giants is represented; and a shield is dedicated on the top, with an inscription signifying that the Megarenses dedicated the treasury from the spoils of the Corinthians. I am of opinion, that the Megarenses obtained this victory when Phorbas was the Athenian archon. This

Phorbas governed them during his life: for the Athenians had not then adopted the mode of governing by annual magistrates; nor had the Eleans began to number their events by Olympiads. The Argives, too, are said to have been partakers of this expedition against the Corinthians. The Megarenses, indeed, dedicated a treasury in Olympia some years after this battle. It is probable that the offerings in this treasury are ancient, as they were made by the Lacedæmonian Dontas, who was the disciple of Dipœnus and Scyllis. The last of all the treasuries is near the stadium; and the inscription on it signifies, that both the treasury and the statues which it contains were dedicated by the Gelones. The statues, however, are not to be found in it at present.

CHAPTER XX.

The Saturnian mountain, agreeable to what I have already observed, extends to that foundation upon which the treasuries are placed. On the summit of this mountain, those that are called *Basilai* sacrifice to Saturn, in the vernal equinox, and in that month which is called by the Eleans *Elaphias*. But in the boundaries of the Saturnian mountain, and towards the north, there is a temple of Lucina, between the treasuries and the mountain. In this temple Sosipolis the dæmon, belonging to the country of the Eleans, is worshipped. The goddess herself they call *Olympia;* and they choose every year a priestess who presides over her sacred rites. But the old woman who ministers to Sosipolis, preserves her chastity agreeable to the law of the Eleans, and offers herself the expiations of the people's guilt to the god. In the fore part of the temple (for the temple is divided into two parts) there is an altar of Lucina, and an entrance near it: but in the interior part of the temple Sosipolis is honoured; and no one is permitted to enter into this part, except the person that ministers to the god, who has a white veil which covers her head and face. In this temple of Lucina, too, virgins and married women remain, and sing a hymn to the goddess. They likewise burn all various odours in honour of her divinity, but do not think it proper to make a libation with wine in her sacred rites. They swear, too, by Sosipolis in affairs of the greatest moment.

It is likewise said, that when the Arcadians led an army into Elea, and the Eleans opposed them, a woman with a young child at her breast came to the Elean commanders, informing them that the child was her own, and that she was come in consequence of a dream to fight in conjunction with the Eleans. The commanders of the army, therefore (as they thought it proper to believe in the woman's relation), placed the child naked before the army. And when the Arcadians began to engage the Eleans, the child became a dragon. At this spectacle the Arcadians were so terrified, that they immediately betook themselves to flight: and the Eleans having vigorously pursued them, and gained a splendid victory, immediately called the god by the name of *Sosipolis*, or the preserver of the city. In the place, too, into which the dragon retreated after the battle, they raised a temple. But they thought it proper that Lucina should be worshipped together with him, because the goddess herself produced the boy to mankind. Of the Arcadians, too, that fell in this engagement, there is a sepulchre on the further bank of the river Cladeus towards the west. Near the temple of Lucina there are ruins of a temple of Celestial Venus; and they even now sacrifice on the altars which remain.

But within Altis, in the road through which the sacred pomp passes, there is a building which they call *Iphodamion*, which takes up an acre of ground in extent, and is surrounded with a wall of stone. Women once every year enter into this building, sacrifice to Hippodamia, and celebrate her with other honours. They report, that Hippodamia fled to Midea, a town in Argolis, when Pelops was inflamed with the most violent anger against her, on account of the death of Chrysippus; but that afterwards Pelops, admonished by an oracle, brought the bones of Hippodamia to Olympia. But at the extremity of the statues of the fined Athletæ, there is an entrance which they denominate occult. Through this the judges of the games and the Athletæ enter to the stadium. But the stadium itself is a heap of earth, and in it seats are raised for those who preside over the games. Opposite to these seats there is an altar of white stone. A woman, who was the priestess of Ceres, and whose name was Chamynes, is represented sitting on this altar, and beholding the Olympic games. This woman, too, receives other honours from the Eleans. But they do not exclude virgins from beholding the games. Near the extremity of the stadium, where the barriers of the races are fixed, the sepulchre of Endymion, according to the Eleans, is to be seen. Above that part of the stadium, too, in which the judges of the games sit, there is a plain destined to the horse-racers, and in this place the barriers of the horses are contained. The figure of these barriers resembles that of a ship's beak; and this beak is turned towards the course. But in that part where the beak joins to the porch which is called *Agnamptos*, or *unbent*, there the beak extends itself.

On the extremity, too, of the beak there is a brazen dolphin upon a rule. But each side of the barriers is more than four hundred feet in length. Small dwelling places are built in these: and these habitations are allotted to such as engage in the contest with horses. A nautical rope, too, is extended before the chariots and vaulting horses as a barrier. But an altar of crude tiles is raised near the middle of the beak; and this is fresh plastered every Olympiad. Upon the altar there is a brazen eagle with its wings widely expanded. This eagle, when a certain person belonging to the races moves a machine within the altar, raises itself on high, and seems to the spectators as if going to fly away. Those barriers, too, are first of all removed, which are extended on each side towards the porch Agnamptos; and the horses that stand near these start the first. These, when they have arrived at the second rank of horses, have the barriers opened to them in the second order: and this takes place through all the ranks of horses, till they become equalized at the beak. When, therefore, they are all collected here, the art of the charioteers and the swiftness of the horses are conspicuously evinced. It was one Cleoetas that first invented this form of the barriers, and who was so celebrated for the invention, that the following epigram was inscribed on his statue at Athens:

> I, Cleoetas, from Aristocles sprung,
> First for th' Olympic games the barriers framed.

They report, too, that Aristides after Cleoetas, added something to this invention. But the other side of the Hippodrome is more extended; and is formed from earth raised in a heap. Near the end of it is the Taraxippos, which is the dread of horses, and is in the shape of a round altar. It is so called, because the horses, while they run round it, are seized with a vehement dread without any apparent cause, and are so disturbed from this terror, that chariots are often broken in pieces, and the charioteers wounded. On this account the charioteers sacrifice on this altar, and suppliantly entreat Taraxippos to be propitious to them.

There are different opinions among the Greeks respecting this Taraxippos. For some say, that it is the sepulchre of a native of this place, who was a skilful horseman, and that his name was Olenius, from whom the rock in Elea is called Olenia. But, according to others, it is the tomb of Dameon, who associated with Hercules in his expedition against Augeas, and who was slain together with the horse on which he rode by Cteatus the son of Actor. They add, that both he and his horse were buried here in one common tomb. Others again assert, that this empty heroic monument was made by Pelops for Myrtilus; that he sacrificed on it in order to appease the anger of Myrtilus, for having been slain by him; and that the tomb was called Taraxippos, because the horses of Oenomaus were disturbed by the art of Myrtilus. There are some that assert, that it is Oenomaus himself, who thus terrifies the horses in the course. I have likewise heard some referring the cause of this affair to Alcathous the son of Parthaon, who being slain in this part of the country by Oenomaus, on account of the wedding of Hippodamia, and buried in this place, exhibits himself a malevolent, and not a beneficent dæmon to coursers, in consequence of the injury which he sustained in the Hippodrome.

According to a certain Egyptian, Pelops received something from Amphion, and buried it in this place, by the secret power of which the horses of Oenomaus were then terrified; and all horses through this have been frightened ever since in a similar manner. This Egyptian, too, was of opinion, that both Amphion and the Thracian Orpheus were skilful magicians; and that, in consequence of their incantations, wild beasts followed Orpheus, and stones came to Amphion, in order to enable him to raise the walls of Thebes. Those, however, appear to me to speak most probably, who say that Taraxippos is an appellation of equestrian Neptune. There is also in Isthmus a Taraxippos: and this was Glaucus the son of Sisyphus, who died through those horses which Acastus employed in celebrating funeral games in honour of his father. But in the Némea of the Argives, there is not any hero who injures the horses: but there is a stone above the place where the horses turn, of a glittering colour, the splendour of which terrifies the horses like the radiance of fire. The Taraxippos, however, in Olympia, far transcends this in producing terror in the horses. Near one of the goals, too, there is a brazen statue of Hippodamia, holding a fillet, and preparing to crown Pelops for his victory.

CHAPTER XXI.

But the other part of the Hippodrome is not a heap of earth, but a hill, though not a lofty one. Towards the extremity of this hill there is a temple of Ceres, under the appellation of Chamyne. Some are of opinion, that this is an ancient name; because the earth in this part opened to receive the chariot of Pluto, and again closed. But, according to others, there was a man of the name of Chamynus, a Pisæan, who was slain by Pantaliontes the son of Omphalion (who seized on the government of Pisa, and solicited the Pisæans to revolt from the Eleans), because he opposed himself to the tyrant. They add, that this temple of Ceres was built out of the possessions of Chamynus. But the Athenian Herodes, in the gymnasium in Olympia, dedicated new statues of Proserpine and Ceres, of Pentelican stone, instead of the old ones. In this gymnasium, the quinquertiones and racers exercise themselves in their contests. There is a foundation, too, in the open air, of stone, in which formerly a trophy was erected in memorial of having vanquished the Arcadians. On the left hand of the entrance to this gymnasium there is a lesser inclosure, in which the wrestlers among the Athletæ exercise themselves. Those habitations of the Athletæ which look towards the south-west and the west are near that porch of the gymnasium which looks towards the east. After you have passed over the river Cladeus, you will see the sepulchre of Oenomaus, which is raised from earth, and enclosed with stones. Above the tomb there are ruins of houses, which, they report, were the stables of Oenomaus. The boundaries of this country towards Arcadia belong at present to the Eleans, but at first were possessed by the Pisæans: and these boundaries exist even at present.

Beyond the river Erymanthus, and near the top of the mountain Saurus, as it is called, there is a sepulchre of Saurus, and a temple of Hercules in a ruinous condition. They report, that this Saurus infested travellers and the natives; and that at length he was slain by Hercules, and gave a name to the place. The river which flows from the south into the Alpheus, opposite to the mountain Erymanthus, divides the Pisæan land from Arcadia. The name of this river is Diagon. After leaving the tomb of Saurus, at about the distance of forty stadia, you will see a temple of Æsculapius, under the appellation of Demænetus, which was the name of its builder. Not far from hence there is a temple of Bacchus Leucyanitas; near which the river Leucyanias flows. This river descends from the mountain Pholoe, and pours itself into the Alpheus. Having passed over the Alpheus from hence, you will enter the borders of the Pisæans. In this place, the first thing which presents itself to the view is the summit of a mountain, which raises itself to an acute vertex. After this follow the ruins of the city Phrixa, and a temple of Minerva, who is called Cydonia. All these at present are reduced to the shape of an altar. They report that Clymenes, who was one of the descendants of the Idæan Hercules, dedicated this temple; and that he came from Cydonia a Cretan town, and from the river Jardanus. The Eleans likewise say, that Pelops, before he contended with Oenomaus, sacrificed to Minerva Cydonia. Departing hence to a little distance, you will arrive at the river Parthenia, on the banks of which there is a sepulchre of the horses of Marmax. It is said, that this Marmax was the first of Hippodamia's suitors, and that on this account he was slain by Oenomaus before the rest. They add, that the names of his mares were Parthenia and Eripha; and that Oenomaus sacrificed them at the tomb of Marmax, and buried them in that place. The name Parthenia, therefore, was given to the river from one of the mares of Marmax.

In this part of the country, too, there is another river, which is called Harpinnates; and not far from this river there are ruins of the city Harpinne, and particularly altars belonging to it. They report, that Oenomaus built this city, and called it Harpinne after the name of his mother. On departing from hence, and at no great distance, you will see a lofty pile of earth, which is the tomb of the suitors of Hippodamia. They say, therefore, that Oenomaus buried them near each other, and not in a splendid manner. But Pelops afterwards raised a sepulchre for them in common, both that he might honour them, and give celebrity to Hippodamia. It appears to me, however, that Pelops, in raising this sepulchre, had no other intention than to evince that he slew Oenomaus, for his putting to death so many and such illustrious men. These men, according to the verses which are called the great Eoeæ, were slain by Oenomaus in the following order: first Marmax, and then Alcathous the son of Parthaon; after these Euryalus, Eurymachus, and Crotalus. The parents of these, and the places of their nativity, I have not been able to discover. Acrias, who was slain after these, may be easily supposed to be a Lacedæmonian, and the builder of Acriæ. After Acrias, they say, that Capetus, Lycurgus, Lasius, Chalcodon, and Tricolonus were slain by Oenomaus. According to the Arcadians, this Tricolonus was the grandson of Tricolonus the son of Lycaon. After Tricolonus, Aristomachus, Prias, Pelagon, Æolius, and Cronius fell in the course. Some, too, number among these Erythrus the son of Leucon, and the grandson of Athamas, from whom a small town of the Bœotians was denominated; just as the Æolian Magnetus were denominated from Æolus. The sepulchre, therefore, of these is in this place: and they say that Pelops, when he reigned over the Pisæans, performed funeral rites every year at this tomb.

CHAPTER XXII.

DEPARTING from hence to the distance of a stadium, you will see the remains of a temple of Diana Cordace. The goddess was thus denominated, because the companions of Pelops, when they instituted games in her honour, on account of their victory, danced also at Sipylus in that manner which is adopted by their country, and which from its comic nature is called *Cordax*. Not far from this temple there is a building of no great magnitude, and in it a brazen chest, which contains the bones of Pelops. But there are no longer any remains either of the walls or other buildings; but the place is on all sides surrounded with vines where once the city Pisa stood. They say, that the founder of this city was Pisus the son of Perieres, and the grandson of Æolus. The Pisæans, indeed, attracted to themselves a voluntary destruction, in consequence of being hated by the Eleans through endeavouring to establish the Olympic games instead of the Eleans. For, in the eighth Olympiad, the Eleans called to their assistance the Argive Phidon, who was the most insolent tyrant in Greece, and together with him established the games. But in the thirty-fourth Olympiad the Pisæans, and their king Pantaleon the son of Omphalion, having collected together an army from all their neighbouring provinces, celebrated the Olympic games instead of the Eleans. These Olympiads, together with the one hundred and fourth Olympiad which were instituted by the Arcadians, are called by the Eleans Anolympiads, and are not inserted in their catalogue of Olympiads. But in the eighty-fourth Olympiad, Damophon the son of Pantaleon was suspected by the Eleans, because, when they entered the Pisæan land in a hostile manner, he persuaded them with prayers and oaths to return home without accomplishing their design. Pyrrhus, however, the son of Pantaleon, reigning after his brother Damaphon, the Pisæans voluntarily warred on the Eleans: and at the same time the Macistii and Scilluntii revolted from the Eleans. These, indeed, from Triphyly: but from among the other neighbouring provinces the Dispontii revolted. For these were on the most amicable terms with the Pisæans, and referred the origin of their city to Disponteus the son of Oenomaus. However the Pisæans, and all that aided them in the war, were overthrown by the Eleans.

On leaving Olympia, and passing through the mountainous road, you will see the ruins of the Elean Pylus. And from Elis to Pylus there is a distance of eighty stadia. This city, as I have before observed, was built by the Megarensian Pylus the son of Cleson. But being subverted by Hercules, and afterwards restored by the Eleans, it was for some time uninhabited. Near Pylus the river Ladon falls into the Peneus. And the Eleans assert, that Homer alludes to this Pylus, when he says:

> "Sprung from Alphëus' stream, that widely pours
> Its copious waters through the Pylian land."

And, indeed, in my opinion, they speak probably. For the Alpheus flows through this country: and the verses cannot be referred to any other Pylus, as the Alpheus does not flow through that part of the Pylian land which is above the island Sphacteria; nor do we know of any city in Arcadia which was ever called by this name. But the village Heraclea, which belongs to the Eleans, is distant from Olympia about fifty stadia: and near it is the river Cytherus. There is a fountain which pours itself into this river: and near the fountain there is a temple sacred to the Nymphs. The names of these Nymphs are Calliphæa, Synallaxis, Pegæa, Iasis: but they are called in common Ionides. Those that wash in these waters are freed from weariness of body, and all various pains. But they report, that the Nymphs were denominated by Ion the son of Gargettus, who brought a colony into this place from Athens.

If you are willing to come to Elis through the plain, after you have journeyed to the distance of one hundred and twenty stadia, you will arrive at Letrini. But between Letrini and Elis there is a distance of one hundred and eighty stadia. Letrini was a small town from the first, and was built by Letreus the son of Pelops. At present, however, but a few of its houses remain: and there is a temple in it of Diana Alphæa with a statue. They report, that the goddess was thus denominated on the following account: Alpheus was enamoured with Diana; but finding that he could not persuade her to marry him either by supplications or any other means, he had the boldness to offer violence to the goddess. Diana, in consequence of this, fled from Alpheus, and drew him on pursuing her, till she came to Letrini, and to that part of it where her mysteries are celebrated all the night long, and at which she was accustomed to be present. Here, as she suspected the intentions of Alpheus, she and the Nymphs that were present with her covered his face with mud; and as Alpheus by this means could not distinguish Diana from the Nymphs, she departed from the place, and eluded his pursuit. But from this circumstance the Letrinæi called the goddess Alphæa; *i. e.* from the love of Alpheus towards her. The Eleans, however, whose friendship with the Letrinæi is of a very ancient date, assert, that they received the religious ceremonies belonging to Diana Elaphiæa from the Letrinæi; and that these ceremonies were at first called Alphiæan, but the word being corrupted by length of time, they were afterwards called Elaphiæan. But to me it appears, that the goddess was called Elaphiæa by the Eleans, from the hunting of stags. The Eleans however report, that a woman whose name was Elaphia, and who was a native of this place, was the nurse of Diana, and that from her the goddess was denominated. But at about the distance of six stadia from Letrini there is a lake of ever-running water, which flows in a right line, and is about three stadia in extent.

CHAPTER XXIII.

In Elis, too, there is an ancient gymnasium, which deserves to be mentioned, in which the Athletæ, before they engage in the Olympic games, are accustomed to exercise themselves in every particular which the rites of their ancestors require. Within the walls lofty plane-trees are planted through the Hippodrome; and the whole of this inclosure is called Xystus, because Hercules the son of Amphitryon, when he used to strengthen himself by daily exercises, in order to the endurance of labour, cleared this place of all the thorns which grew in it. There is another circus separated from this which the natives call *Sacred*. That circus, too, is apart from this in which the racers and quinquertiones run that design to engage in the games. In the gymnasium, too, there is a place which they call Plethrium. In this place the judges of the games contend, who are either illustrious for their age or their art. They contend, too, in wrestling. In this gymnasium there are altars of the gods, viz. of the Idæan Hercules, who is called *the Helper*; of Love; and of that divinity which the Eleans and Athenians call Anteros; of Ceres likewise and her daughter. There is no altar to Achilles here, but there is an empty sepulchre, which was dedicated to him by the command of an Oracle. When the Paneguris, or public festival commences, and the sun on the stated day of the solemnity declines to the west, the Elean women, among other honours which they pay to Achilles, violently beat themselves. There is likewise another lesser inclosure of the gymnasium contiguous to the greater, and which is called the Quadrangle from its figure. The Athletæ exercise themselves in wrestling in this inclosure, and such as being at leisure from wrestling contend with softer coats of mail.

In this place, too, one of those statues is to be seen which were dedicated to Jupiter from the fine of the Smyrnæan Sosander and the Elean Polyctor. There is also a third inclosure of the gymnasium, which is called Maltho, on account of the softness of the ground. This place is open to youth all the time of the Paneguris or grand festival. But in a corner of the Maltho there is a statue of Hercules, which extends no farther than to the shoulders, and a figure of one of the fillets which are used by wrestlers. There is likewise a Cupid in this place, and the divinity which is called Anteros. Cupid holds in his hand a branch of a palm-tree, and Anteros endeavours to take it from him. On each side of the entrance to the Maltho, there is a statue of a boy that was a pugilist. The Elean *Nomophylax*, or *guardian of the laws*, told me, that this boy came from that Alexandria which is above the island Pharos, and that his name was Serapion. This boy was honoured by the Eleans, because, happening to come to Elis during a scarcity of provisions, he gave them a considerable quantity of corn. But the period in which he was crowned and benefited the Eleans, was the two hundred and seventeenth Olympiad. In this gymnasium, too, the Eleans have a place of consultation; and specimens are here exhibited, both of extemporary orations and writings of every kind. This place is called Lalichmion, after his name by whom it was raised. Shields are suspended all round it merely for ornament, and not for the purposes of war. As you proceed from the gymnasium to the baths, there is a road which is called *Siope*, or *the silent*, and a temple of Diana *Philomeirax*, or *the friend of youth*. This appellation was given the goddess from the vicinity of her temple to the gymnasium. But they report, that the road was called Silent, because the spies that were sent from Oxylus to explore the affairs of the Eleans, having mutually exhorted each other on the road, ceased to discourse any farther when they drew near the walls, and endeavouring by listening to hear the discourse of the besieged, secretly came into the city along this road; and having gained the intelligence they desired, returned safe to the Ætolians. And from this silence of the spies, the road was denominated.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Another passage from the gymnasium leads to the forum, and to that place which they call Hellanodicon. This place is above the tomb of Achilles; and the Hellanodicæ, or judges of the games, pass through this into the gymnasium. Here, before the rising of the sun, they assemble the racers; but, when it is mid-day, those that engage in the quinquertium and other heavier contests. But the forum of the Eleans is not like that of the Ionians, and of such cities as border on the Ionians; for it is constructed after a much more ancient manner. Porches, too, are built in it, separated from each other, with passages through them. This forum at present is called the Hippodrome; and the natives rear in it their horses. But of these porches, that which is towards the south is built after the Doric manner; and is divided by pillars into three parts. In this porch the judges of the games for the most part sit the whole day; and near these pillars there are altars dedicated to Jupiter. There are likewise altars in that part of the forum which is in the open air, but there are not many of these. These altars are removed without any great labour; for they are raised in a hasty kind of manner. As you proceed along this porch to the forum, you will see on the left hand, and near the extremity of the porch, the Hellanodicon. There is a road, too, which divides this from the forum. But in this Hellanodicon, those who are chosen to preside over the games reside for ten successive months: and all that time they are taught by the Nomophylacæ, or preservers of the law, every thing pertaining to the celebration of the games. Contiguous to that porch in which the judges of the games reside all the day there is another porch, and a road between these two. This porch the Eleans call Corcyraica. For, shortly after the Corcyrenses had plundered the Elean land, the Eleans brought much spoil from many parts of Corcyra, and from the tenth part of the spoil raised this porch. It is built after the Doric manner, and has a twofold order of pillars, one of which reaches to the forum, and the other to the parts beyond the forum. But its middle part is not supported by pillars, but by a wall, on each of whose sides there are statues.

Near that part of the porch which is towards the forum there is a statue of Pyrrho the son of Pistocrates, who was a sophist, and one that in every oration studied the means of procuring firm assent. The sepulchre of this Pyrrho is not far from the city of the Eleans. The place where it stands is called Petra, or a stone; and this was the ancient name of an Elean town. In that part of the forum which is in the open air, the Eleans have a most splendid temple and statue of Apollo Acesius. This name has the same meaning with the Alexicacos of the Athenians. But in another part there are stone statues of the Sun and Moon. That of the Moon has horns on its head; but rays issue from the head of the Sun. The Eleans, too, have a temple of the Graces. The statues in it are of wood, but their garments are golden. The faces, hands, and feet of these statues are of white stone; and one of them holds a rose, another a dice, and a third a small leaf of myrtle. It is easy to conjecture the meaning of their holding these; for the rose and myrtle are sacred to Venus, and adapted to her on account of their beauty; and the Graces above all the divinities are attributed to Venus. But the dice, or ankle-bone, alludes to the sporting of youths and virgins, which, though foreign from a more advanced age, is proper to youth. On the right hand of the statues of the Graces, and on the same base, there is a statue of Love. There is also a temple of Silenus here, which is dedicated to Silenus alone, and not to Bacchus in conjunction with him. Intoxication extends wine to him in a cup. But that the Sileni are of a mortal race, may be conjectured with the highest degree of probability from their sepulchres. For in the land of the Hebrews there is a sepulchre of a Silenus, and among the Pergamenians of another Silenus. In the forum, too, of the Eleans I have seen a temple, which is constructed as follows: It is not lofty; it is without walls; and the roof is supported by oaken pillars. The natives universally agree that this is a tomb; but they do not relate who it is that is buried in it. If, indeed, an old man of whom I inquired about this affair asserted the truth, this temple is the sepulchre of Oxylus. And lastly, in this forum there is a building of those that are called the sixteen women: and in this building they weave a veil for Juno.

CHAPTER XXV.

After the forum there is an ancient temple, which is circularly invested with porches and pillars: but the roof of the temple has fallen off, and no statue remains. This temple was dedicated to the Roman emperors. Behind that porch which was raised from the spoils of the Corcyræans there is a temple of Venus: and in the open air there is a grove not far from the temple. The statue within the temple, which they call the statue of Celestial Venus, is made of ivory and gold, and was the work of Phidias. This statue stands with one of its feet on a tortoise. The grove itself is surrounded with a wall of stone: and within the grove there is a fountain, upon which there is a brazen statue of Venus. The statue stands on a brazen goat, and was made by Scopas. This Venus they call *Popular*. But as to what pertains to the tortoise and the goat, I leave to such as are willing to indulge conjecture in this particular. The inclosure and temple of Hades (for the Eleans have dedicated both these to Hades) are opened once every year: but it is not lawful for any one to enter into them, except the person that sacrifices. The Eleans are the only persons we are acquainted with that reverence Hades, on the following account. When Hercules led an army against Pylus in Elis, they say that Minerva was present with him and assisted him; and that Hades fought in defence of the Pylians, because he was honoured by them, and was himself an enemy to Hercules. They also produce Homer as confirming the truth of their relation, by these verses in the Iliad:

"Ev'n hell's grim king Alcides' power confest,
The shaft found entrance in his iron breast;
To Jove's high palace for a cure he fled,
In *Pylus* pierced amidst the heaps of dead."

If, indeed, Neptune came to the assistance of the Greeks, as Homer asserts, in the time of the Trojan war, it is not improbable but that, agreeable to the same poet, Hades assisted the Pylians. The Eleans, therefore, raised a temple to Hades, on account of his benevolence to them, and hatred of Hercules. And this temple, as it appears to me, they open every year, because mankind are *once* obliged to descend to Hades. The Eleans, also, have a temple of Fortune. In the porch of this temple, there is a very large statue, which is made of wood, and is gilt in every part except the face, and the extremities of the hands and feet; for these are made of white stone. Sosipolis, too, is honoured in the left hand part of this temple of Fortune. This god is painted after the resemblance which he once assumed, and exhibited to some one in a dream. He is represented as a youth; is clothed with a garment variegated with stars; and holds in one of his hands the horn of Amalthea. In that part, too, of the city of the Eleans which is most inhabited, there is a brazen statue which does not exceed the dimensions of a large man, and is without a beard. One of its feet is enfolded with the other, and it leans with both its hands on a spear. They clothe it sometimes with a woollen garment, and sometimes with one made of linen and silk. They say, that this is a statue of Neptune; that it was formerly reverenced in Samicus in Triphylia; and that being brought from thence to Elis, it was much more honoured than before. They call the statue, however, Satrapes, and not Neptune, from a Satrap that dwells near the Patrenses. But Satrapes is an appellation of Corybas.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Between the forum and the Menion there is a theatre, and a temple of Bacchus, the statue in which was made by Praxiteles. The Eleans worship Bacchus above all the divinities: and they report, that he is present at that festival of theirs which they call Thyiæ. The place in which they celebrate this festival is about eight stadia distant from the city. Into this temple, the priests bring three empty kettles; citizens and strangers, if they should happen to be in Elis, being at the same time present. But afterwards the priests, and others to whom the care of the temple is committed, seal the doors of the temple. The next day they enter the temple, and though their seals have not been broken, they find the kettles filled with wine. The most respectable men among the Eleans, and likewise some strangers, have sworn to me, that what I have just related is true; for I was not able to be present myself at the celebration of this festival. The Andrii also report, that every year when they celebrate the festival of Bacchus, wine spontaneously flows from the temple. These things it is proper the Greeks should believe: and agreeable to this, we may credit the reports of the Æthiopians who dwell above Syene, respecting the table of the Sun. In the tower, too, of the Eleans, there is a temple of Minerva; and the statue in it is made of ivory and gold. They say, that this was the work of Phidias. There is a cock on the helmet of the goddess, because cocks are prompt in the highest degree with respect to fighting. Or we may say, that this bird is sacred to Minerva Ergane. But Cyllene is distant from Elis about one hundred and twenty stadia. It is situated opposite to Sicily; and affords a convenient harbour for ships. It is, indeed, the harbour of the Eleans, but is denominated from an Arcadian. Homer, in his catalogue of the ships, does not mention Cyllene; but afterwards in the course of his poem, he evinces that he knew Cyllene was a small city:

> Polydamus, Cyllenius Otus slew,
> Phylidas' friend, and leader of the band
> Of bold Epeans to the Trojan plain."

There are two temples of the gods in Cyllene, one of Æsculapius, and the other of Venus. But the statue of Mercury, which the inhabitants of this place venerate in the greatest degree, is an erect penis on a basis. The country of the Eleans, too, abounds in fruits, and particularly in fine flax: and hemp, thread, and fine flax, are planted by such as have land adapted to their production. But the thread from which the Seres make garments, is not produced from a tree, but is procured by the following method. A worm is found in their country which the Greeks call Seer, but the Seres themselves, by a very different name. This worm is twice as large as the beetle, and in other respects resembles spiders which weave under trees. It has, likewise, eight feet as well as the spider. The Seres rear these insects in houses, adapted for this purpose both to summer and winter. What these insects produce is a slender thread, which is rolled round their feet. They feed them for four years on oat-meal; and on the fifth year (for they do not live beyond five years) they give them a green reed to feed on: for this is the sweetest of all food to the insect. It feeds, therefore, on this till it bursts through fulness, and dies: after which, they draw from its bowels a great quantity of thread. But it is well-known that the island Seria is situated in the recess of the Red sea: though I have heard it asserted by some, that it is not the Red Sea, but a river which they call Sera, that forms this island; just as the Delta of Ægypt is surrounded by the Nile, and not by any other sea. They say, therefore, that Seria is an island of this kind. But these Seres which I have spoken of, are of the Æthiopian race; and this is, likewise, the case with the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, Abasa and Sacæa: though according to some, they are not Æthiopians, but Scythians mingled with Indians. And thus much concerning particulars of this kind. But as you proceed from Achaia to Elis, there is a road of about one hundred and fifty-seven stadia in length, which leads to the river Larisus. And this river forms at present the boundaries of the Achaian and Elean lands: for formerly these dominions were limited by the promontory Araxus.

BOOK VII.

ACHAIACS.

CHAPTER I.

The region which is situated between the Eleans and Sicyonians, and extends to the eastern sea, is called at present Achaia from its inhabitants: but its ancient name was Ægialus; and its inhabitants at that time were called Ægialenses, from Ægialeus who reigned in Sicyonia, according to the relation of the Sicyonians. There are others who derive its name from the country itself; as many of its parts form *aigialos*, or *a shore*. But in after times, and on the death of Hellenus, his remaining sons expelled Xuthus from Thessaly, accusing him of applying his father's wealth solely to his own private advantage. This Xuthus betaking himself to Athens, was thought worthy of being united with the daughter of Erechtheus, by whom he had two sons, Achæus and Ion. After the death of Erechtheus, Xuthus became the arbitrator between his sons who contended for the possession of the kingdom: and he determining in favour of Cecrops who was the eldest, the other sons of Erechtheus expelled him from the country. In consequence of this he took up his residence in Ægialus: in which place also he died. Of his sons, Achæus receiving assistance from Ægialus and Athens, came to Thessaly, and obtained his paternal kingdom. But to Ion, as he was collecting an army against the Ægialenses, and their king Selinus, Selinus sent ambassadors, offered him his only daughter Helice in marriage, and said that he would immediately adopt him as his son. This offer was accepted by Ion: and on the death of Selinus, he reigned over the Ægialenses, and called the city which he built in Ægialus, Helice, from his wife, and the inhabitants Iones from himself. This appellation, indeed, did not produce any change of name, but only an addition; for they were now called Ægialenses Iones. The ancient name, however, was still most predominant: and hence Homer, in his catalogue of Agamemnon's forces, thinks it sufficient to mention the ancient name of the country:

"Through all Ægialus, and Helice's broad land."

But at that time when Ion reigned over the Ægialenses, the Athenians chose him for their general in their war against the Eleusinians: and Ion afterwards dying in Attica, was buried in the town of the Potamii, where his sepulchre remains at present. The posterity, too, of Ion reigned over the Iones, till they were totally expelled by the Achaians; who, at that time, were driven from Lacedæmonia and Argos by the Dorienses. But I shall shortly relate the military transactions of the Ionians and Achaians; previous to which it will be necessary to show how it came to pass, that the Lacedæmonians and Argives alone of all the Peloponnesians, prior to the return of the Dorienses, were called Achaians. Archander, then, and Architeles, who were the sons of Achæus, came from Phthiotis to Argos. Here, when they were settled, Danaus gave them his two daughters in marriage, viz. Automate to Architeles, and Scæa to Archander. Indeed, it may be inferred that they came to Argos, from hence, that Archander called his son *Metanastes*, or *an exile*.

Their authority, therefore, being established in Argos, it came to pass that both Lacedæmonians and Argives were called in common Achaians, from the children of Achæus; but the Danai were alone denominated Argives. But soon after being driven by the Dorienses from Argos and Lacedæmon, having sent an ambassador, they entreated the Iones to afford a peaceable residence to themselves, and their king Tisamenus the son of Orestes. The kings of the Iones, however, were afraid, that if the Achaians were mingled with the Iones, Tisamenus, both on account of his valour and the splendour of his family, would be elected king by general approbation. The Iones, therefore, rejecting the petition of the Achaians, a war ensued, in which Tisamenus was slain, and the Achaians having pursued the Iones to Helice, to which place they fled for refuge, suffered them to pass from thence safely, under certain conditions. But the Achaians having buried the dead body of Tisamenus in Helice, the Lacedæmonians afterwards, by the admonition of the Delphic oracle, brought his bones to Sparta: and even at present the tomb of Tisamenus remains, in that place in which the Lacedæmonians celebrate their Phiditia. The Iones, therefore, retreating into the Attic land, were permitted to dwell there by the Athenians, and their king Melanthus the son of Andropompus; and this for the sake of Ion, and those achievements in war which he accomplished for the Athenians. It is also said, that they were received in this friendly manner by the Athenians, because they suspected the Dorienses, and were afraid of their turning their arms against them; so that it was more from regard to their own strength, than benevolence to the Iones, that the Athenians permitted them to take up their residence in the Attic land.

CHAPTER II.

Not many years after this, when Medon and Nileus, who were the eldest of the sons of Codrus, opposed each other for the government, Nileus confessing that he could not bear to live in subjection to Medon, who was lame in one of his feet, they had recourse to the Delphic oracle, which ordered them to give the government of the Athenians to Medon. Nileus, therefore, and the other sons of Codrus being sent to a colony, they took with them as many Athenians as were willing, but the Iones composed the greatest part of their army. This was the third army, which was sent from Greece, under the command of foreign kings, and composed of a foreign multitude. For in the most ancient times, the Theban Iolaus, who was the son of the brother of Hercules, brought the Athenians and Thespienses to Sardinia. And in one age prior to the departure of the Iones from the Athenians, the Theban Theras, who was the son of Autesion, brought the Lacedæmonians and Minyæ, who had been ejected by Pelasgus from Lemnos, to that island, which was then called Calliste, but is now denominated from him Thera. But the third colony was established by the sons of Codrus, who had no alliance with the Iones; for they were Messenians on the side of their father and grandfather, viz. from Codrus and Melanthus of Pylus; but Athenians on their mother's side. Of the Greeks, too, the Thebans partook of this expedition in conjunction with the Iones, following Philotas, the grandson of Peneleus; and of the Orchomenians the Minyæ, on account of their alliance to the children of Codrus. All the Phocenses, too, partook of it, except the Delphi: and the Abantes from Euboea. But the Athenians Philogenes and Damon, the sons of Euctemon, fitted out ships for the Phocenses, and were their leaders in establishing a colony. These, as soon as they landed in Asia, dispersed themselves about the cities bordering on the sea. And Nileus with his party settled in Miletus.

The Milesians, too, report, that the most ancient particulars respecting their origin are as follow: The country which was under the dominion of their native king Anax, and Asterion, the son of Anax, was at first called Anactoria. But a fleet of the Cretans sailing in order to establish a colony, under the command of Miletus, both the coast and the city were denominated from him; and Miletus with his army came from Crete, at that time when he fled from Minos, the son of Europa. The Cares then inhabited that part of Asia; and the Cretenses were permitted to reside with them. But then as the Iones had vanquished the ancient Milesians, they slew all the males, except such as saved themselves by flight after the capture of the city; and married their wives and daughters. The tomb of Nileus, as you go to Didymi, is not far from the gates on the left hand of the road. But the temple of Apollo in Didymi, and the oracle, are very ancient, as they were established prior to the migration of the Iones; and the temple of Ephesian Diana is much more ancient than the colonization of the Iones. And it appears to me, that Pindar was not acquainted with all the particulars respecting this temple: for he says, that this temple was built by the Amazons, when they warred on the Athenians and Theseus. These women, indeed, from Thermodon, sacrificed even then to the Ephesian goddess, as being well acquainted with the temple from ancient times; and when they fled from Hercules, and still prior to him from Bacchus, they came thither as suppliants. But the temple was by no means built by the Amazons. For Cresus, a native of the place, and Ephesus, who is thought to have been the son of the river Cayster, raised this temple; and the city received its name from Ephesus. The Leleges, who were a part of Caricum, and many of the Lydians then inhabited that coast; and among others women of the Amazonian tribe fixed their habitations about the temple, for the sake of supplicating, and deprecating the wrath of the goddess.

But Androclus, the son of Codrus (for he was king of the Iones when they sailed to Ephesus), drove out of the country the Leleges and Lydians, who dwelt in the upper city: but he suffered those that resided about the temple to

his feet, they had recourse to the Delphic oracle, which ordered them to give the government of the Athenians to Medon. Nileus, therefore, and the other sons of Codrus being sent to a colony, they took with them as many Athenians as were willing, but the Iones composed the greatest part of their army. This was the third army, which was sent from Greece, under the command of foreign kings, and composed of a foreign multitude. For in the most ancient times, the Theban Iolaus, who was the son of the brother of Hercules, brought the Athenians and Thespienses to Sardinia. And in one age prior to the departure of the Iones from the Athenians, the Theban Theras, who was the son of Autesion, brought the Lacedæmonians and Minyæ, who had been ejected by Pelasgus from Lemnos, to that island, which was then called Calliste, but is now denominated from him Thera. But the third colony was established by the sons of Codrus, who had no alliance with the Iones; for they were Messenians on the side of their father and grandfather, viz. from Codrus and Melanthus of Pylus; but Athenians on their mother's side. Of the Greeks, too, th
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CHAPTER III.

But the Colophonii are of opinion, that the temple of Apollo in Clarus, and the oracle, are very ancient. For while the Caræ had possession of this country, they say, that the Cretans came into it the first of all the Greeks; that Rhacius was their leader, and the leader of the multitude that came with him; and that he had a strong fleet of ships, with which he took possession of the maritime coasts on which he landed. A great part of this country is yet inhabited by the Cares. But when Thersander the son of Polynices, and the Argives, took Thebes, Manto among the other captives was brought to Apollo at Delphos: for her father Tirisias had ended his days as he was travelling to Haliartus. The oracle ordering these captives to be sent to a colony, they passed over with a fleet into Asia; and as soon as they arrived at Clarus, the Cretans in arms ran to them as they were landing, and brought them to Rhacius. He therefore (for he knew from Manto who they were, and on what account they came) married Manto, and took into his own family her attendants. Mopsus was the son of Rhacius by this Manto: and he drove all the Caræ out of his dominions. But the Iones entered into an alliance with the Greeks in Colophon, and dwelt with them on equitable terms. The kingdom of the Iones was possessed by Damasichthon and Promethus, the sons of Codrus. Promethus, too, afterwards, having slain his brother Damasichthon, fled to the island Naxus, where he ended his days. But the sons of Damasichthon brought his dead body to their own place of abode: and the tomb of Promethus is to be seen in a town which is called Polytichides. As to the manner in which the city of the Colophonians was laid waste, this we shall relate in our account of the transactions of Lysimachus.

But the Colophonians alone of those that were colonized in Ephesus, warred on Lysimachus and the Macedonians. On the left hand of the road which leads to Claros, there is a common sepulchre of the Colophonians and Smyrnæans, who died in battle. Lysimachus, indeed, desolated the city of the Lebedians, that the city of the Ephesians might be increased by the accession of the exiles. Their country, among other things by which it is calculated to give felicity to its inhabitants, abounds with baths of hot water from the sea of a very refreshing nature. But the Cares at first inhabited Lebedos, till they were driven from thence by Andræmon, the son of Codrus, and the Iones. The sepulchre of this Andræmon, as you go from Colophon is on the left hand of the road, after you have passed over the river Calaon. The Orchomenian Minyæ, too, established a colony in Teos; migrating to this place, with Athamas for their leader. This Athamas is said to have been the grandson of that Athamas, who was the son of Æolus. The Cares, too, dwelt here mingled with the Greeks. But Apoecus, the great grandson of Melanthus, colonized the Iones in Teos; nor did he machinate any thing worse than this against the Orchomenians and Teians. Not many years after this, inhabitants came hither from Athens and Bœotia. The leaders of the Attic colony were Damasus and Naoclus the sons of Codrus; but the Bœotian colony was conducted by the Bœotian Geres. The inhabitants and the Teians willingly permitted both these to reside with them. But the Erythræi refer their origin to Erythrus, the son of Rhadamanthus, by whom, as they say, they were led from Crete, and after whom the city was denominated.

The Lycians, Cares, and Pamphylii possessed this city together with the Cretans. For the Lycians anciently came from Crete, and from those that fled together with Sarpedon, and were, therefore, allied to the Cretans. But the Cares came on account of their ancient friendship with Minos; and the Pamphylii, because they were allied to the Greeks; for they wandered with Calchas after the capture of Troy. As all this people, therefore, which we have enumerated, inhabited Erythræ, Cleopus the son of Codrus, having collected from all the cities of Ionia those that wished to form a colony, conjoined them with the Erythreans. But the Clazomenii and Phocaenses, before the Iones settled in Asia, had no cities to inhabit. And after the settlement of the Iones, apart of these wandering about, at length fixed on the Colophonian Parphorus for their leader, and built a city under mount Ida. This they afterwards abandoned, and returning to Ionia, built Scyppius in the borders of the Colophonians. Afterwards migrating from hence, they settled themselves in that country which they at present inhabit, and fortified the city Clazomenæ in the continent. But they passed over into the island through fear of the Persians. Afterwards, Alexander the son of Philip intended to have reduced Clazomenæ to the form of a peninsula, by bringing a mass of earth into the island from the continent. The Iones did not form a considerable part of these Clazomenians; but the Cleonai, Phleasii, and such of the Dorienses as, after deserting their cities, came to Peloponnesus, composed the bulk of the Clazomenians. But the Phocaenses derive their origin from that Phocis under Parnassus, which remains even now: and these following Philogenes and Damon, passed over into Asia together with the Athenians, and obtained possession of the country, not by force of arms, but received it from the Cumæi on certain stipulated conditions. But in consequence of the Iones not admitting them to their *Panionium*, or *place where they celebrate a general festival*, till they had kings from the race of Codrus, they called Oetes, Periclus, and Abartus, from Erythræ and Teos.

CHAPTER IV.

In the islands opposite to Asia there are certain cities of the Iones, viz. Samos above Mycale, and Chios opposite to Mimas. But Asius the Samian, the son of Amphiptolemus, informs us in his verses, that Astypalæa and Europè were the daughters of Phœnix, by Perimeda the daughter of Oeneus; that Ancæus was the son of Neptune and Astypalæa; and that he reigned over the people who are called Leleges. That, besides this, he married Samia, the daughter of the river Mæander, by whom he had Perilaus, Enudus, Samus, Alitherses, and a daughter Parthenope. That from Parthenope the daughter of Ancæus, Apollo had a son, Lycomedes. And such is the information of the poet Asius. But at that time the inhabitants of the island permitted the Iones to reside with them, rather from necessity than benevolence. Procles the son of Pityreus was the leader of the Iones, who was himself an Epidaurian, and conducted a great number of Epidaurians, that had been expelled from Epidaurus by Deiphontes and the Argives. This Procles derived his origin from Ion, the son of Xuthus: and the Ephesians under the command of Androclus, warred on Leogorus, the son of Procles, when he reigned after his father in Samos; and having vanquished them, drove the Samians from the island. The reason which they assigned for this, was that they had formed stratagems against the Iones with the Cares. But of the exiled Samians, one part inhabited that island in Thrace, which, from this colonization, was denominated Samothrace instead of Dardania; while those that followed Leogorus, raised walls in Anæa in the opposite continent, ten years after which they passed over into Samos, drove out the Ephesians, and recovered the island.

With respect to the temple of Juno in Samos, there are some who assert, that it was dedicated by the Argonauts, and that they brought the statue from Argos. But the Samians themselves are of opinion, that the goddess Juno was born in Samos, by the river Iambrasus, and under a willow which is even to be seen at present in the temple of Juno. That this temple, too, is very ancient may be inferred, and this by no contemptible argument, from the statue of the goddess. For it is the work of Smilis Æginetes, who was the son of Euclid. This Smilis was contemporary with Dædalus; but was not equal to him in renown. For Dædalus descended from that royal Athenian family who are called Metionidæ, and together with his art, was celebrated by all men for his wanderings and calamities. Thus when his sister's son was cut off, and he well knew that he had suffered agreeably to the law, he voluntarily fled to Minos in Crete, where he made statues for Minos and his daughters, as Homer evinces in the Iliad. But afterwards being condemned by Minos for a capital offence, he escaped with his son from prison, and fled to Inycus a Sicilian city, to king Cocalus. This was the cause of the Sicilians warring on the Cretans, because Cocalus refused to comply with the request of Minos by surrendering Dædalus. And so much was he honoured for his art by the daughters of Cocalus, that on this account they even formed stratagems for putting Minos to death. It is evident, too, that the name of Dædalus was celebrated in the highest degree through all Sicily and Italy.

It is not, however, asserted by any one, that Smilis travelled to any other nations, than the Samians and Eleans. These, indeed, he visited; and there is a statue of Juno, in Samos, which was made by him. But Ion, the tragic poet, relates, that Neptune once came to a desert island; that here he became connected with a nymph; and that as she was in the act of being delivered it happened to snow; and that from this circumstance Neptune called the boy *Chios*. He adds, that Neptune was connected with another nymph, by whom he had two sons, Angelus and Melan; and that afterwards Oenopion sailed to Chios from Crete, together with his sons, Talus, Euanthes, Melan, Salagus, and Athamas. That during the reign of Oenopion the Cares came to this island, and the Abantes from Eubœa; and that Amphiclus, who was a foreigner from Hestiæa in Eubœa, reigned after Oenopion and his sons. Hector was the great grandson of this Amphiclus, and, during his reign in this place, warred on the Abantes and Cares that dwelt in the island; some of whom he slew in the engagement, and others he compelled to abandon the island on certain conditions. But when the Chii were liberated from the war, Hector recollected, that both he and the Iones ought to sacrifice in the Panionion: and they say, that a tripod was given to him by this grand assembly, as a reward of his valour. And such are the particulars which Ion relates of the Chii; though he does not inform us how the Chii came to be thus incorporated with the Iones.

CHAPTER V.

But as Smyrna was one of the twelve Æolian cities, and this country was inhabited from the first, just as it is at present, the Iones from Colophon took from the Æolenses that city which they call Archæa. And in after times the Iones made the Smyrnæans partakers of their convention in the Panionion. But Alexander the son of Philip raised the city which exists at present, in consequence of a vision in a dream. For they report, that as Alexander was once hunting in the mountain Pagus, he came to the temple of the Nemeses, where he met with a fountain, and a plane-tree before the temple which this fountain watered. Here he fell asleep under the plane-tree, and while he was in this state, the Nemeses appeared to him, and exhorted him to build a city in that place, and cause it to be inhabited by the Smyrnæans. The Smyrnæans, therefore, sent proper persons to Claros to explore the will of divinity in this affair: and the god gave them the following oracle: "Thrice and four times blessed will be the condition of those men who shall inhabit the country beyond the sacred Meles." In consequence of this, the Smyrnæans willingly migrated to this place. They are of opinion, too, that there are many Nemeses, and not one Nemesis only: and they say, that the mother of these is Night; just as the Athenians assert that the father of this goddess, whom they worship in Rhamnus, is Ocean. The country, too, of the Iones enjoys a very convenient temperature of the Seasons: and they have such temples as are not to be found in any other place. The first of these, both for its magnitude and riches, is the temple of Ephesian Diana. After this follow two unfinished temples of Apollo; one among the Milesian Branchidæ, the other at Claros in the land of the Colophonians. Two other temples in Ionia were burnt by the Persians; one of Juno in Samos, the other of Minerva in Phocæa. These temples, notwithstanding the devastation of the fire, were once objects of admiration.

In Erythræ, too, the temple of Hercules is a delightful spectacle, as also that of Minerva in Priene; the latter, on account of the statue which it contains; and the former, for its antiquity. The statue, indeed, neither resembles those which are called Æginææ, nor the most ancient of the Attic statues: but if it may be said to resemble any, it is an accurate imitation of an Egyptian statue. For there is a raft of wood, and the goddess is represented sailing on it from Phœnician Tyre; but on what account, is not mentioned by the Erythræi. They report, however, that as soon as this raft came into the Ionian sea, it was carried to Hera, which is called Media, because to those who are sailing to the island Chios from the port of the Erythræans, it is about the middle of their voyage. But when the raft reached the promontory, the Erythræi and Chii emulated each other in endeavouring to bring the statue on shore, though their efforts for this purpose were in vain. And at last a certain Erythræan, who procured the means of subsistence by fishing, whose name was Phormio, and who had lost his eyes through disease, was admonished in a dream to tell the Erythræan women to shave off their hair; the vision at the same time informing him that if the men platted the hair of the women so as to form a rope, they might draw the raft wherever they pleased. The Erythræan women, however, on hearing this, were by no means willing to comply with the dream: but such of the Thracian women as were in a state of servitude, and yet had the power of procuring their freedom, readily shaved off their hair, by which means the Erythræi drew the raft on shore. And on this account, the Thracian women alone are permitted to enter into the temple of Hercules. This rope, composed of hair, the natives have preserved even to the present times: and they report, that the fisherman after this event recovered the use of his sight, and preserved it during the remainder of his life. There is also in Erythræ a temple of Minerva Polias, which contains a wooden statue of a large size, sitting on a throne, holding in each of its hands a distaff, and having a pole on its head. That this was made by Endoeus may be conjectured from a variety of circumstances, and particularly from minutely examining the statue, and from the Graces and the Seasons, which, prior to my coming into these parts, stood in the open air, and were made of white stone.

The Smyrnæi, too, even at present have a temple of Æsculapius, between the mountain which they call *the Summit*, and the sea which is mingled with foreign water.

But Ionia, besides the temples which it contains, and the salubrious temperament of its air, exhibits other particulars worthy of description. The Ephesian region, too, contains the river Cenchrius, the fertile mountain Pion, and the fountain Halitæa. But in the Milesian borders there is the fountain Biblis, near which those particulars took place which they sing about the love of Biblis. In the Colophonian region there is a grove of Apollo, which is thick set with ash-trees; and the river Ales, which is the coldest of all the Ionian rivers. But the Lebedian baths are both admirable and salutary to mankind. There are baths, too, among the Teii, in the mountain Macria, which are partly formed from water bursting through a cavern, and partly for the sake of exhibiting the wealth of the inhabitants. The Clazomenii also have baths: and among these people Agamemnon is reverenced. They have besides this a cavern, which they say is sacred to the mother of Pyrrhus: and a story is circulated among them concerning the shepherd Pyrrhus. But in Erythræ there is a place called Chalcitis, from which the third of their tribes is denominated. A promontory extends itself from Chalcitis to the sea, in which there are marine baths, the most salubrious of all in Ionia. But among the Smyrnæans there is a most beautiful river which is called Meles; and there is a cavern near its fountains in which, as they report, Homer composed his poems. Among the Chii there is a sepulchre of Oenopion, which deserves to be inspected, both on account of its construction, and the actions which Oenopion is said to have performed. With the Samians, in the road which leads to the temple of Juno, there is a sepulchre of Rhadine and Leontichus: and those that are violently in love pray upon this sepulchre. But the admirable particulars which Ionia contains are numerous, and not much inferior to any in the remaining part of Greece.

CHAPTER VI.

To return, therefore, from this digression: after the departure of the Iones, the Achaians divided their dominions among themselves into twelve cities, which are well known to all Greece, The first of these, which looks towards Elis, is Dyme; then Olenos, Pharæ, Tritia, Rhipes, Thasium, Cecyrina, Bura, Helice, Ægæ, Ægira, Pellene follow, which last looks towards Sicyonia. In these cities the Achaians and their kings dwelt; for, prior to this, they were inhabited by the Iones. Those that had the greatest power among the Achaians were the sons of Tisamenus, viz. Daimenes, Sparton, Telles, and Leontomenes: for the eldest of these, Cometes, had prior to this passed over with a fleet into Asia. These, therefore, reigned over the Achaians; and besides these, Damasias the son of Penthilus, grandson of Orestes, and cousin to the children of Tisamenus. But Preugenes, and his son Patreus, who were of the Achaians in Lacedæmonia, reigned with equal power. To these the Achaians gave a city, which was afterwards denominated from Patreus. But the particulars of the warlike affairs of the Achaians are as follow: At the time when Agamemnon led his army against Troy, Lacedæmon and Argos formed the greatest parts of Greece. But when Xerxes and the Medes invaded Greece, the Achaians neither assisted Leonidas at the Thermopylæ, nor the Athenians and Themistocles in their naval battle between Eubœa and Salamis; nor is there any mention of their warlike transactions either among the Athenians or Lacedæmonians; nor did they partake of the engagement at Platææ. Hence, in the common offering of the Greeks in Olympia, the name of the Achaians is not inscribed among the rest. It appears to me, that at this time they were busied in defending their own country; and that being elated with the victory over the Trojans, they did not think it proper that they who were Dorienses should be led by the Lacedæmonians.

That this was the case indeed they evinced in process of time: for when the Lacedæmonians warred on the Athenians, the Achaians willingly assisted the Patrenses, and were no less well disposed towards the Athenians. But, in after times, they united with the rest of the Greeks in their common expedition at Chæronea against Philip and the Macedonians. They acknowledge, however, that they did not lead an army into Thessaly, and that they were not present at the battle at Lamos, because they had not then recovered their loss in Bœotia. But I remember that one of the historians of the Patrensian antiquities told me, that one Chilon a wrestler was the only person among the Achaians that partook of the engagement about Lamia. I myself, too, know that a certain Lydian, whose name was Adrastus, assisted the Greeks from his own private fortune. The Lydians dedicated a brazen statue of this Adrastus before the temple of Persice Diana, with an inscription signifying that Adrastus died in fighting for the Greeks against Leonnatus. But the expedition to the army of the Gauls, at the Thermopylæ, was viewed in the same light by all the Peloponnesians. For as the Barbarians had no ships, they hoped that nothing dreadful would ensue from their incursions if they fortified as much of the Corinthian isthmus as extended from the sea, near the promontory Lechæum, to the sea which is near Chenchreæ. And this was the general opinion of all the Peloponnesians. But afterwards, when the Gauls passed over with a fleet into Asia, the affairs of the Greeks were in a condition perfectly imbecile. For the Lacedæmonians were incapable of preserving their former felicity, through the loss which they sustained at Leuctræ, through the Arcadians collecting themselves into one great city, which was called Megalopolis, and through the vicinity of the Messenians to their dominions. As to the Thebans, their city was reduced to such a desolate condition by Alexander, that many years after, when they were restored to their country by Cassander, they had not strength sufficient to defend themselves. And lastly, though the Athenians continually experienced the benevolence of the Greeks in consequence of their valiant behaviour, yet they were never secure from the arms of the Macedonians.

CHAPTER VII.

In those times, therefore, when the Greeks did not adopt any general consultations, but each person confined himself to his own particular concerns, the Achaians were powerful in the most eminent degree. For all their cities, except Pellene, were perpetually free from the dominion of tyrants: and the calamities which they suffered from war and pestilence were not so great as those which befel the other parts of Greece. The Achaians, therefore, had an assembly, which was called Achaïcon, and united in common consultations and common operations. They also agreed to assemble together in Ægium; because, Helice being destroyed by inundations, this city from the first excelled all the other Achaian cities both in dignity and wealth. But the Sicyonians were the first of the other Greeks that partook of the assembly of the Achaians; and after these, some of the other Peloponnesians joined themselves to it immediately, and some after a length of time had intervened. Many, too, that dwelt beyond the Isthmus were persuaded to unite themselves to the Achaians, when they saw that the Achaïcon continually increased in strength and renown. But the Lacedæmonians alone of all the Greeks were at the greatest variance with the Achaians, and at length openly took up arms against them. Agis, indeed, the son of Eudamidas, and who reigned in Sparta, took the Achaian city Pellene, but was immediately after forced to relinquish its possession through Aratus and the Sicyonians. But Cleomenes the son of Leonidas and grandson of Cleonymus, who was a king of the other family, vanquished, in a great battle, Aratus and the Achaians at Dyme, and afterwards made a peace with the Achaians and Antigonus. This Antigonus was at that time the guardian of young Philip, and governed the Macedonians. But Philip was the son of Demetrius: and Antigonus was the cousin and father-in-law of Philip.

Cleomenes, therefore, having entered into an alliance with this Antigonus and the Achaians, and immediately after violating the league, plundered Megalopolis. And, indeed, the offensive conduct of the Lacedæmonians in Sellasia, towards the Achaians and Antigonus, happened on account of Cleomenes and his perjury. We shall, however, again make mention of Cleomenes in our account of the Arcadian affairs. But Philip the son of Demetrius, having received the government of the Macedonians as soon as he was of age from Antigonus, and this, indeed, not unwillingly, filled all Greece with terror, though he did not descend from Philip the son of Amyntas (for this Philip was in reality the master of his ancestors); but this dread was produced from his imitating the actions of Philip the son of Amyntas. This, indeed, was common to both the Philips, to procure to themselves the friendship of princes by money, viz. of such princes as had a greater regard to their own private gain than the good of their country, and on this account would not hesitate to betray their country for gold. This, too, was peculiar to the younger Philip, that at banquets, while the guests were pledging each other in a friendly way, he would poison the cups in order to destroy the company: for it does not appear to me, that this conduct was ever adopted by Philip the son of Amyntas. This wickedness, however, was familiar to

Philip the son of Demetrius. This Philip, too, fortified three cities, which he used as receptacles for his soldiers in his wars upon Greece: and through his insolence and contempt of the Greeks, he called these cities *keys*.

One of these cities was Corinth, in Peloponnesus, the tower of which he fortified; the second was Chalcis near Euripus, which he employed as a defence against Eubœa, the Bœotians, and the Phocenses; and the third was Magnesia, which he opposed to the Thessalians and Ætolians. But he infested in the greatest degree the Athenians and Ætolians, both by attacking them in open fight, and unexpectedly plundering their lands. I have, indeed, already mentioned, in my account of the Attic affairs, the aid which was sent both by Greeks and Barbarians to the Athenians against Philip; and how the Athenians, being afflicted by the length of the war, were obliged to implore the assistance of the Romans. A little before this the Romans had sent assistance to the Ætolians, verbally, against Philip, but in reality it was rather for the purpose of exploring the Macedonian affairs. Then also they sent an army to the Athenians, which was commanded by Atilius: for this was the most illustrious of his names. Indeed the Romans are not denominated from their fathers after the manner of the Greeks, but each person has three names at least; for they often give to an individual more than three. Atilius, therefore, was ordered to defend the Athenians and Ætolians against Philip. And in other respects he acted agreeably to his orders; but in subverting the Eubœan city Hestiæa, and Anticyra in Phocis, which were from necessity in subjection to Philip, he acted contrary to the will of the Romans. In consequence of this, as it appears to me, the senate sent Flaminius to succeed Atilius in the command of the army.

CHAPTER VIII.

Flaminius, therefore, at that time succeeding Atilius, vanquished the Macedonian guards, plundered Eretria, surrounded Corinth with his army, though it was invested by Philip with a guard, and demanded assistance of the Achaians for carrying on the siege, both on account of their alliance with the Romans, and their benevolence to Greece. The Achaians, however, who were indignant at the conduct of Atilius, also accused Flaminius, and asserted, that both of them had unjustly attacked certain ancient cities of Greece, which had not offended the Romans, and were unwillingly in subjection to the Macedonians; and that they foresaw the Romans intended to reign over them and all Greece, instead of Philip and the Macedonians. This affair being agitated by the Achaians in their assembly, was attended with much opposition: and at last such of them as were friends to the Romans prevailed, and assisted Flaminius in his siege of Corinth. But when the Corinthians were freed from subjection to the Macedonians, they immediately partook of the assembly of the Achaians, of which they were formerly members when Aratus and the Sicyonians cut off the guard at the Corinthian tower, and slew Persæus, who was placed over the guard by Antigonus. From this time the Achaians were called the allies of the Romans, and were cheerfully disposed to assist them in all their undertakings. For they penetrated into Macedonia with the Romans against Philip, and joined themselves to the Roman army against the Ætolians. And in the third place they fought with the Romans against Antiochus and the Syrians. Such of the Achaians, indeed, as opposed the Macedonians or Syrians, were in friendship with the Romans; but their enmity to the Lacedæmonians was of an ancient date. Hence, when the tyranny of Nabis in Sparta was dissolved, whose cruelty was intolerable, the Achaians immediately subjected Lacedæmonia to the Achaic assembly, and having judged the Lacedæmonians in the most accurate manner, demolished the wall of Sparta from its foundations.

This wall, indeed, had been raised in a hasty manner when Demetrius and Pyrrhus formerly besieged the city: but during the tyranny of Nabis, a wall was built of the utmost strength, and calculated to ensure the greatest safety to the inhabitants. The Achaians, therefore, threw down the wall of Sparta, and transferred the discipline which was forbidden to the Spartan youth by the laws of Lycurgus, to the Achaian youth. These particulars, however, will be more copiously discussed by me, in my account of the Arcadian affairs. But the Lacedæmonians indignantly bearing subjection to the Achaians, fled to Metellus and his colleagues. They did not, however, come with any view of announcing war upon Philip and the Macedonians, as prior to this a peace had been established between them, Philip, and the Romans; but that they might learn what those crimes were, with which Philip was branded by the Thessalians and certain of the Epirots. Philip, indeed, and the flower of the Macedonians, were destroyed by the Romans. For Flaminius and the Romans attacking Philip at Cynocephalæ, he was in the first place vanquished in skirmishing, and when the armies on each side came to an engagement, Philip was conquered with so great a loss, that he was obliged to make his peace with the Romans, by drawing off the guards from all the Grecian cities which he had taken in war. Indeed, the peace which he obtained was more splendid than beneficial: and that the power of the Macedonians, which rose to such a height during the reign of Philip the son of Amyntas, would be subverted in the times of the other Philip, was predicted as follows by the Sibyl, but not without the assistance of divinity: " O Macedonians! who now boast of your Argeadan kings, Philip reigning over you will be both your advantage and your loss. The former Philip will give kings to cities and people; but the latter will destroy all your honour, as he will be conquered by men from the east and the west." For the Romans who dwell towards the west, subverted the kingdom of the Macedonians: and Attalus and the Mysians their allies, who assisted them in this conquest, dwelt towards the east.

CHAPTER IX.

But then Metellus and the other ambassadors were of opinion, that they ought not to despise the complaints of the Lacedæmonians, but that they should advise the council of the Achaians to act more mildly towards the Lacedæmonians. The council, however, refused to listen either to them, or to any other persons who did not bring with them a decree of the senate respecting the purport of their embassy. Metellus, therefore, and his colleagues thinking, that they were insulted by the Achaians, when they returned to Rome, accused them to the senate, and charged them with some offences which were not entirely true. But the Lacedæmonians Areus and Alcibiades, who were the most illustrious persons in Sparta, but not just towards the Achaians, accused them much more invidiously than Metellus and his colleagues. For these persons being exiled by Nabis, were received by the Achaians; and after the death of Nabis, were brought back to Sparta, contrary to the will of the Lacedæmonian people. After their return, therefore, being introduced to the Roman senate, they with great alacrity opposed the Achaians. The Achaians, in consequence of this, sentenced them in their council to death. But the

Romans sent Appius Claudius, and other ambassadors, in order to determine justly between the Achaians and Lacedæmonians. Appius, however, and his colleagues by no means acted in a manner pleasing to the Achaians, as they brought with them Areus and Alcibiades, who were at that time most odious to the Achaians. This, too, gave offence to the Achaians in a great degree, that when these persons came to their assembly, they employed anger in their discourse rather than persuasion. In this assembly was Lycortas the Megalopolitan, who was not second to any one of the Arcadians in dignity, and who, confiding in the friendship of Philopœmen, exhibited in his discourse what was just with respect to the Achaians, and mingled with it some accusations against the Romans. But Appius and his associates paid no attention to his discourse, and declared, that in their opinion Areus and Alcibiades had not spoken any thing unjustly against the Achaians.

They likewise permitted the Lacedæmonians to send ambassadors to Rome, though this was contrary to the agreement between the Achaians and Romans. For it was decreed by them, that ambassadors should be sent to the Roman senate publicly by the council of the Achaians; and was at the same time ordered, that no city belonging to the assembly of the Achaians should employ a private embassy. A contrary embassy also was sent by the Achaians: and when the affair came to be agitated in the senate, with much disputation on both sides, the Romans determined to send the same ambassadors again, as judges between the Lacedæmonians and Achaians, viz. Appius, and those that came with him before into Greece. These ambassadors immediately brought back to Sparta those that had been exiled by the Achaians, and sent back the fine to those who were condemned of acting unjustly by the Achaians, because they had withdrawn themselves before the affair was determined.

Indeed they did not free the Lacedæmonians from the assembly of the Achaians, but were willing that the decision of capital offences should be left to the Roman senate, leaving the Achaiac council to determine crimes of an inferior nature. They likewise took care to fortify the Spartan city again with a new wall. And the Lacedæmonian exiles being restored to their country, formed all-various stratagems against the Achaians, hoping by the following means to revenge themselves on the Achaians in the most eminent degree. They persuaded the Messenians, who were considered as enemies, because they were privy to that conspiracy in which Philopœmen was slain, and on that account were banished by the Achaians;—these, together with the Achaian exiles, they persuaded to make their complaints to the senate of Rome. And for these, indeed, as they were themselves present, they easily procured a return. For Appius was highly favourable to the Lacedæmonians, and entirely adverse to the Achaians; and on this account the senate passed a decree, which was perfectly agreeable to the Messenian and Achaian exiles. Letters, therefore, were immediately sent to Athens and Ætolia, commanding them to restore the property belonging to these exiles. This affair, however, vehemently disturbed the Achaians, as they considered that, prior to this, they had been unjustly treated by the Romans, and that their ancient kindness towards them had not been received in the manner they might have expected: for they who had given great assistance to the Romans against Philip, the Ætolians, and Antiochus, were now placed after exiles, and men whose hands were by no means pure from guilt. However, they thought it best to comply with the commands of the Romans.

CHAPTER X.

But that most impious of all daring attempts, which leads men to betray their country and fellow-citizens for gain, was baneful to the Achaians, and did not fail to infest Greece at all times as soon as it was adopted. For the affairs of the Iones, when Darius the son of Hystaspes reigned over the Persians, were ruined through their fleet being betrayed by all the commanders of the three-oared Samian galleys, except eleven. After the Iones, the Medes also enslaved Eretria, owing to Philagrus the son of Cyneus, and Euphorbus the son of Alcimachus, betraying their country to the enemy. For when Xerxes was making an irruption into Greece, the Aleuadæ betrayed Thessaly; and Attaginus and Timagenidas, who were men of the first rank in Thebes, betrayed that city. But Xenias the Elean, in the Peloponnesian war, which took place between the Athenians and Spartans, endeavoured to betray Elis to Agis and the Lacedæmonians. After this, those who were called the guests of Lysander, could never rest till they had betrayed their country. But during the reign of Philip the son of Amyntas, you will alone find Sparta free from betrayers; and the other Grecian cities were ruined more by betrayers than the pestilence of former times. Such, indeed, was the good fortune of Alexander the son of Philip, that his felicity was not assisted by any prodition which deserves to be mentioned. But when the Greeks suffered that loss in Lamia, Antipater, who hastened to bring the war into Asia, was willing to make a sudden peace, and thought it would make no difference to his affairs, if he suffered Athens and all Greece to be free. Demades, however, and other Athenian betrayers, persuaded Antipater to lay aside his philanthropy to the Greeks; and having terrified the Athenian people, were the occasion of a guard of Macedonians being placed over Athens, and many other cities.

The following circumstance, too, confirms the truth of my narration. The Athenians, though they had received a great loss in Bœotia, two thousand of their army being taken prisoners, and a thousand slain, yet did not become subservient to Philip. But in Lamia, where they lost no more than two hundred men, they yielded to the Macedonians. And thus Greece was never free from the ills with which prodition is attended. Thus, too, the Achaian Callicrates caused the Achaians at that time to become subject to the Romans. But the destruction of king Perseus and the Macedonian empire was the beginning of calamity to the Achaians. For Perseus having violated the league with the Romans which was made by his father, Philip, and leading an army against the king of the Sapeans (whom Archilochus mentions in his Iambics) in the city Abrus, he drove him out of his dominions, though he was the ally of the Romans; and the Romans revenging the injuries of their allies, reduced Perseus and all his kingdoms into their own power, and sent ten ambassadors, in order to accommodate the Macedonian affairs to their own designs. These, as soon as they came into Greece, Callicrates endeavoured to circumvent by flattering attention of every kind, and the most persuasive speech; and he so influenced by his arts one of these ambassadors, who was a man by no means inclined to justice, that he persuaded him to join the assembly of the Achaians. This man, therefore, as soon as he became a member of the council, said, that the most powerful of the Achaians assisted Perseus with money in warring on the Romans; and on this account exhorted the Achaians to put them to death, as he could mention each of them by name. It appeared, however, to the assembly perfectly unjust, to mention openly the names of those that were favourable to Perseus: and yet it was by no means right to condemn any one, whose name was not announced.

Upon this, the Roman, whose intention was thus reprobated, had the boldness to say, that the commanders of the Achaian forces were the persons he alluded to; as all of them were favourable to Perseus and the Macedonians. And this he said, in consequence of being previously tutored by Callicrates. But then one Xenon, a man of considerable authority among the Achaians, rose, and said, If this be the case, I also am guilty, as having been a leader of the Achaian forces; but yet I have not acted in any respect unjustly towards the Romans; nor am I benevolently disposed towards Perseus: and, conscious of this, I am willing to be judged in the assembly of the Achaians, and to abide by the decision of the Romans. Thus spoke Xenon, from a consciousness of his integrity: but the Roman represented this defence as nothing more than a pretext, and ordered all those who were charged with prodition by Callicrates, to be sent to Rome to have their cause decided;—a thing which the Greeks had never done before. For the most powerful of the Macedonians, Philip, the son of Amyntas, and his son Alexander, never required that their opponents should be sent from Greece into Macedonia, in order to have their cause decided, but permitted them to abide by the decision of the Amphictyons. But the Romans at that time ordered all those to be brought to Rome who were accused by Callicrates, whether they were guilty or innocent. The number of the accused, indeed, was more than a thousand. And the Romans, thinking that these had been already condemned by the Achaians, sent them to Tyrrhenia, and the cities which are situated near it. Afterwards other ambassadors and supplicators were sent to the Romans by the Achaians, but without any effect. But when these Achaians had been confined for seventeen years, the Romans at length liberated not more than three hundred of them that were left in Italy, thinking that they had been punished sufficiently. Such of them, however, as endeavoured to escape, and were either immediately detected and brought back to Rome, or afterwards taken in the cities into which they had fled, were without farther delay condemned to death.

CHAPTER XI.

The Romans, too, again sent a man to determine the dispute between the Lacedæmonians and Argives concerning the boundaries of their dominions; and this was the senator Gallus, who both in his discourses and actions behaved in a very insolent manner, and treated both the cities with contempt. For he did not even deign to hear the cause of those cities which had been once renowned for their actions, and which had fought for a long time for the boundaries of their land, though prior to this, their cause had been determined by Philip the son of Amyntas: but he committed the judgment of all Greece to Callicrates, who was a most insolent man. And when the Ætolians came to him from Pleuron, and requested that they might be separated from the council of the Achaians, he permitted them to send their own ambassadors to Rome. Their revolt, too, from the Achaian assembly was approved by the Romans; and Sulpitius was ordered to separate from the assembly of the Achaians as many cities as he could; with which injunction he readily complied. In the meantime, the Athenians, rather impelled by necessity, than through any voluntary design, plundered the city Oropus, which was in subjection to them; because, through the injury which they sustained from the Macedonian war, they were the most indigent of all the Greeks. The Oropians in consequence of this fled to the Romans for protection; who, considering them as having suffered unjustly, ordered the Sicyonians to take from the Athenians sufficient to recompense the injury which the Oropians had sustained. The Sicyonians, therefore, in consequence of the Athenians not attending on the day appointed for the decision of this dispute, inflicted on them a fine of five hundred talents. This the Athenians refused to pay; and on making application to the Romans, their fine was reduced to one hundred talents, which, however, was not paid.

Instead, therefore, of paying the fine, the Athenians so far prevailed on the Oropians, both by promises and gifts, that they suffered an Athenian guard to be admitted (hostages being given) within their town; yet on this condition, that if they sustained any fresh injury from the Athenians, then the Athenians should withdraw their guard, and restore the hostages. Not long after this the inhabitants of Oropus were injured by the guard; and ambassadors being sent on this occasion to the Athenians, the Oropians desired that they might be freed both from the compact and the guard, and that the hostages might be returned. But the Athenians replied, in answer to this, that, as the offence was committed by the guard, and not by the Athenian people, they should not comply with their demand; but that they would inflict on the guard the punishment which they deserved. The Oropians, however, were not satisfied with this answer, but fled to the Achaians, and requested them to revenge their cause: but the Achaians would not comply, on account of the esteem and reverence which they possessed for the Athenians. Upon this, the Oropians promised Menalcidas, who was a Lacedæmonian by birth, but who then commanded the forces of the Achaians, ten talents, if he could procure them the assistance of the Achaians. But Menalcidas, when he understood that Callicrates possessed great wealth, on account of his friendship with the Romans, gave him half of the reward: and through the united arts of Callicrates and

Menalcidas, aid was procured for the Oropians against the Athenians. When this was told by a certain person to the Athenians, they came before Oropus as swiftly as possible, and carrying away with them all that remained of the former spoil, removed likewise the guard. But afterwards Menalcidas and Callicrates persuaded the Achaians, who sent assistance too late, to make incursions upon the Attic territories. However, as assistance came to the Athenians from several parts of Greece, and particularly from Lacedæmon, the Achaians led back their army.

CHAPTER XII.

But the Oropians, though they received no assistance from the Achaians, yet paid Menalcidas the sum which they had promised him; and Menalcidas, as soon as he had received it, thought he should act very improperly, if he made Callicrates a partaker of his gain. First of all, therefore, he deluded him with expectations; afterwards by fraud; and last of all, he had the boldness to deny him his share. By this conduct, indeed, he confirmed the proverb:

> A fire there is, than other fires more fierce,
> A wolf, than other wolves more savage far,
> A hawk, who swifter flies than other hawks.

For Callicrates, who was the most impious of all men at that period, was surpassed in perfidy by Menalcidas. But Callicrates being grieved that he had procured the enmity of the Athenians without having received the reward of his treachery, accused Menalcidas to the Achaians, on the cessation of his command, of a capital offence. His pretext was, that Menalcidas had acted as ambassador to the Romans against the Achaians, and had endeavoured to the utmost of his power to draw away Sparta from the assembly of the Achaians. But now Menalcidas, perceiving that he was arrived at the extremity of danger, gave three talents to Diæus a Megalopolitan, and his successor. Diæus being bound to his interest by this present, saved the life of Menalcidas, though contrary to the will of the Achaians. This affair, however, procuring much disgrace to Diæus both privately and publicly, in order to avert the odium that was raised against him, he raised the views of the Achaians to greater undertakings, and the hope of increasing prosperity; and employed the following pretext to cover the deception of his conduct.

The Lacedæmonians had fled to the Roman senate, with the view of settling a dispute about their dominions: but the senate referred every thing to the assembly of the Achaians, except the decision of capital offences. But Diæus, alluring the minds of the multitude by pleasing deception, pretended that the judgment of even capital crimes was referred to the Achaians. The Achaians, in consequence of this, as they gave credit to his report, began to sit in judgment on the capital offences of the Spartans. The Spartans, however, refused to abide by their decisions, charged Diæus with deception, and said, that they would again consult the Roman senate about this affair. But then the Achaians made use of another argument—that such cities as formed a part of their dominions, had no authority of their own, and could not privately send an embassy to the Romans without the general consent of the Achaians. A war between the Achaians and Lacedæmonians was the result of this dispute; and the Lacedæmonians, perceiving that they were not equally powerful in arms with the Achaians, sent ambassadors to the Achaian cities publicly, and privately to Diæus. But they were answered by the cities, that it was impossible for them to refuse obedience to the laws, as their forces were under the command of a prætor. This prætor was Diæus, who said, that he did not fight with Sparta, but with those that disturbed the peace of Sparta. And on the senate asking him who the persons were that he considered as having acted unjustly, he gave in the names of twenty-four of the first quality in Sparta. In consequence of this, the opinion of one Agasthenes was adopted, a man who prior to this was illustrious and honoured, but whose reputation was greatly increased, from the advice which he gave on the present occasion. For he persuaded those nobles whom Diæus had required to be surrendered to the Achaians to banish themselves voluntarily from Lacedæmonia, and not by their stay bring war into Sparta; since, if they fled to Rome, they would in a short time be restored by the Romans.

After, therefore, they had banished themselves, they were capitally condemned by the Spartans. But Callicrates and Diæus were sent to Rome by the Achaians, that they might declaim in the senate against the exiled Spartans. And of these, Callicrates died by the way, of disease, at Rhodes: nor do I know, whether, if he had arrived at Rome, he would in any respect have benefited the Achaians, or whether he might not have been the cause of greater evils to them. But when Diæus and Menalcidas arrived at Rome, and had said many things in opposition to each other, some of which were far from being attended with a becoming propriety, the senate at length gave them for answer, that they would send ambassadors, who should determine the difference between the Lacedæmonians and Achaians. These ambassadors proceeded very slowly on their journey; and in consequence of this, a length of time intervened, sufficient for Diæus to circumvent the Achaians by his fraudulent conduct, and Menalcidas the Spartans. For Diæus persuaded the Achaians, that, by a decree of the Romans, the Spartans would be entirely in their power: and Menalcidas so perfectly deceived the Lacedæmonians, that they believed they should be freed by the Romans from the assembly of the Achaians.

CHAPTER XIII.

Again, therefore, in consequence of this opposition in sentiment, the Achaians began to make war upon the Lacedæmonians. But about the same time Metellus led the Roman army to Macedonia: for it was decreed by the senate, that he should war upon Andriscus, the son of Perseus, who was endeavouring to free himself from subjection to the Romans. Here Metellus, having gained an easy victory, persuaded those whom the Roman senate had sent into Asia, prior to their arrival thither, to speak to the leaders of the Achaian army, and exhort them not to war on the Lacedæmonians, but wait the arrival of the ambassadors from the Roman senate, who were sent as judges between the Lacedæmonians and Achaians. This advice they gave to Damocritus and the Achaians, who were then leading an army against the Lacedæmonians. However, perceiving they were not able to alter the intention of the Achaians, they passed over into Asia. But the Lacedæmonians took up arms with more alacrity than strength, and met the enemy with no other design than that of defending their own dominions. Not long after this they were vanquished by the Achaians; and a thousand soldiers who were in the flower of their age falling in the engagement, the rest saved themselves within their walls by a rapid flight. And if Damocritus had but hastened to pursue the enemy, the Achaians might have entered the gates with the flying Lacedæmonians. But at that very time he sounded a retreat, and afterwards turned himself to excursions and devastations of the land, rather than besieging the city. Hence, when he led back his army, he was fined by the Achaians for prodition fifty talents; and, being unable to pay it, fled from Peloponnesus.

But Diæus was proclaimed general of the army after Damocritus: and Metellus being sent as ambassador to him, he caused a cessation of arms to take place between the Achaians and Spartans, till the arrival of those from the senate who were to determine their quarrel. The crafty general, too, employed the following stratagem against the Lacedæmonians. All the cities which surrounded Sparta he allured to benevolence towards the Achaians, and brought into them guards, which might be subservient to the Achaians in attacking Sparta. But the Lacedæmonians made Menalcidas the general of their army, who, though he perceived that the Lacedæmonians were reduced to the greatest want both of men and money, and besides this, that their land was in a most unprolific state, yet in open violation of the truce, by making a sudden excursion, he took and plundered the town Iasus, which was in the boundaries of the Laconic region, but at that time in subjection to the Achaians. The war, however, being again renewed between the Lacedæmonians and Achaians, he was accused by the citizens, and not being able to bear their reproaches at a time when a new war was raised, he destroyed himself by poison. And such was the end of Menalcidas, a man who was at that time the most unskilful general of the Lacedæmonians, and prior to this had acted in the most unjust manner towards the Achaians.

CHAPTER XIV.

At length those that were to determine the dispute arrived in Greece, among whom was Orestes, who ordered the principal persons in each city, together with Diæus, to attend him. On their arrival, Orestes told them, that the Roman senate were of opinion, that neither the Lacedæmonians, nor Corinth itself, ought to form a part of the Achaic dominions; and that besides this, Argos and Heraclea, which is near Oeta, and the Arcadian Orchomenians, ought to be separated from the Achaic assembly; as these people had no alliance with the Achaians, and their cities were in after times only subjected to the Achaians. While Orestes was thus speaking, the Achaian magistrates not enduring to stay any longer, and hear the whole of his discourse, left the house, and called the Achaians to council. These, as soon as they knew the opinion of the Roman senate, immediately attacked the Spartans, who at that time were in Corinth, and plundered all those whom they either suspected or knew to be Lacedæmonians from their being shaved, or from the shoes which they wore, or any other part of their clothing; and even drew out by force and assaulted those that had fled for refuge into the house of Orestes. Upon this Orestes and the ambassadors that were with him endeavoured to restrain the fury of the Achaians, and exhorted them to remember that they had commenced hostilities against the Romans themselves. Not many days after this, the Achaians imprisoned all the Lacedæmonians that they had taken, and dismissed those of a different country. They, likewise, sent other Achaians to Rome, and among these Theridas, as the leader of the embassy. But these happening to meet by the way with other ambassadors, who were sent from Rome on the same account, returned home.

Diæus had now completed the period of his command, and Critolaus was chosen as his successor. This man was inflamed with a vehement and intemperate desire of warring on the Romans; and as soon as the new Roman arbitrators arrived, he met them at Tegea, an Arcadian city, and took care to prevent them from delivering their message to the general assembly of the Achaians. For in their hearing, he sent messengers, ordering the Achaians to assemble; but privately he desired the members of the assembly not to meet together. The council, therefore, not assembling, Critolaus plainly evinced that he had deceived the Romans; especially when he told them, they might depend on the assembly meeting on the sixth month, and that he could not lawfully treat on public affairs in any other place than the assembly of the Achaians. The ambassadors, therefore, finding that they were deceived, returned home. But Critolaus collecting together the Achaians in Corinth, persuaded them to carry war into Sparta, and openly take up arms against the Romans. It often happens, indeed, that the event of war is unsuccessful to kings and cities, and that destruction ensues rather from the interference of dæmons than the fault of the warriors; but rashness, when accompanied with imbecility, should be rather called madness than misfortune. This madness, indeed, injured Critolaus and the Achaians. But Pytheas, who was at that time the general of the Bœotians in Thebes, incited the Achaians to war on the Romans, as the Thebans of their own accord offered to assist them in carrying on the war. The Thebans, however, were punished for this by the orders of Metellus, and were obliged to pay a fine to the Phocenses, in the first place, because they had invaded their land in an hostile manner; in the second place to the Eubœnses, because they had laid waste their country; and in the third place to the Amphissenses, because they had cut their corn during the time of harvest. But the Romans having learnt from their ambassadors and the letters of Metellus the unjust conduct of the Achaians, ordered Mummius, who was at that time their consul, to lead a fleet and land army against the Achaians.

CHAPTER XV.

But Metellus, as soon as he found that Mummius was marching with an army into Achaia, endeavoured with all the diligence possible to bring the war to a conclusion before the arrival of Mummius. He, therefore, sent messengers to the Achaians, who exhorted them to give up the Lacedæmonians, and such other cities as were in subjection to the Romans; adding, that if they complied with this request, he would promise to procure their pardon from the Romans. At the same time he led his army into Macedonia through Thessaly and the Lamiacan bay. But Critolaus and the Achaians were so far from acceding to the conditions proposed by Metellus, that they laid siege to Heraclea, in consequence of the inhabitants refusing to obey the Achaians. However, as soon as Critolaus understood by his spies, that Metellus and the Romans had passed over Sperchius, he fled to Scarphea, a Locrian city, and had not the boldness to stay in the strait between Heraclea and Thermopylæ. Indeed he was struck with so great a terror, that the celebrity of the place was not able to raise his hopes; for it was here that the Lacedæmonians exhibited the most splendid specimens of courage against the Medes, and the Athenians against the Gauls. Metellus, however, pursued, and overtook him a little before he reached Scarphea, and slew the greatest part of his forces; at the same time taking not less than a thousand prisoners. But Critolaus was neither seen alive after the battle, nor found among the dead bodies. If, indeed, he had the boldness to merge himself in the muddy marsh of the sea near the mountain Oeta, he must have been entirely absorbed in its profundity. However, other things may be conjectured respecting the death of Critolaus. But about a thousand chosen Arcadians, who had joined themselves to Critolaus, fled to Elatea in Phocis, and were received into that city, on account of a certain alliance which they had with them: though as soon as the misfortune of Critolaus and the Achaians was told to the Phocenses, the Arcadians were ordered to leave Elatea.

In consequence of this they returned to Peloponnesus, and fell in with the army of Metellus at Chæronea. And here, indeed, divine justice inflicted on them the punishment which they deserved: for they were slain by the Romans in that very place, in which they had deserted the Greeks when they fought against Philip and the Macedonians. The command of the Achaians, therefore, returned again to Diæus, who, imitating the conduct of Miltiades, prior to the battle of Marathon, gave liberty to the slaves, and mustered all the Achaians and Arcadians of a proper age. By this means he collected together an army of six hundred horsemen, and fourteen thousand heavy-armed foot. And in this instance, indeed, nothing could exceed the stupidity of Diæus, who, though he knew how unhappily Critolaus, and all the preparation of the Achaians, had been vanquished by Metellus, yet chose out of his army four thousand men, and sent them to Megara under the command of Alcamenes. They were sent to this place for the purpose of defending the city of the Megarenses, and that they might prevent Metellus and the Romans from marching any farther into Peloponnesus. But Metellus having vanquished the Areadians at Chæronea, marched with his army against Thebes. At that time Heraclea was besieged by the Thebans together with the Achaians; and both these parties had been present at Scarphea. But then, on the approach of Metellus, the Theban women and men of every age abandoning the city, wandered through Bœotia, and fled to the tops of the mountains. Metellus, however, would not suffer either the temples of the gods to be burnt, or the houses to be thrown down; and ordered, that no one should slay any of the other Thebans, or impede them in their flight, but that they should by all means bring Pytheas to him, if they happened to take him. Pytheas, therefore, was immediately found, and punished by Metellus as he deserved. But as soon as the Roman army drew near to Megara, Alcamenes with his guard immediately fled to Corinth to the camp of the Achaians; and the Megarenses surrendered the city to the Romans without any contention. Metellus, however, as soon as he came to the Isthmus, invited the Achaians to conditions of peace: for he had a vehement desire of finishing the Macedonian and Achaian war. The folly, however, of Diæus prevented him from obtaining his desire.

CHAPTER XVI.

While these things were transacting, Mummius bringing with him Orestes, who prior to this had been an arbitrator between the Achaians and Lacedæmonians, arrived about break of day at the Roman army; and sending Metellus with his forces into Macedonia, staid himself in the Isthmus till all his army was collected together. In his army he had three thousand five hundred horse, and twenty-three thousand foot. The Cretan archers, too, came to his assistance; and Philopoemen with a band sent by Attalus from Pergamus, which is above Caicus. Mummius was likewise assisted by some Italian forces. But there was a guard before his army, at about the distance of twelve stadia from the camps. This guard, which did not keep a very careful watch through too much confidence in the strength of the Romans, was attacked by the Achaians, who slew many of them, but pursued still more of them to their camps, and took five hundred shields. The Achaians elated with this victory, marched to battle before the Romans. As soon, however, as Mummius faced them with his army, and the Roman horse opposed that of the Achaians, the Achaian horse immediately fled, and did not even sustain the first impression of the Roman horse. The heavy armed foot of the Achaians were indeed very much dejected by the flight of the horse, but yet had the boldness to attack the Roman foot; and, though they were overpowered by the multitude of their enemies, and worn out with wounds, yet they stood their ground, till a thousand chosen men of the Romans attacked them on their side, and thus put them to flight. If, indeed, Diæus, after the battle, had been bold enough to enter into Corinth, and receive within the walls the flying remains of his army, the Achaians, perhaps, if the affair had terminated in a siege and the war protracted, might have obtained milder conditions from Mummius.

But now, as soon as the Achaians began to turn their backs, Diæus immediately fled to Megalopolis, by no means acting towards the Achaians in the same manner as Callistratus the son of Empedus acted towards the Athenians. For Callistratus, who commanded the Athenian horse in Sicily, when the Athenian foot, and those that partook of his expedition, were cut off near the river Asinarus, had the boldness to force his way with the horse that were with him through the midst of the enemy; and afterwards having escaped to Catana with a great part of his forces, turned back again the same way towards Syracuse, and attacked those that were plundering the Athenian camps. Here, having slain five of the enemy, he at last fell with certain deadly wounds from his horse, after he had procured great glory both to the Athenians and himself, and saved the horse under his command. But Diæus, instead of acting in this heroic manner, after the loss of the Achaian forces, came himself to the Megalopolitans, as the messenger of the impending calamity; slew his wife with his own hand, that she might not be made a captive; and at last destroyed himself by poison. Indeed, as he was equally avaricious with Menalcidas, so was he equally timid in the article of death.

But those Achaians that had saved themselves in Corinth after the battle, abandoned it as soon as it was night, and were accompanied in their flight by many of the Corinthians: and Mummius, though he saw that the gates were open, restrained his army from entering Corinth, fearing that some ambush might be laid for him within the walls. On the third day, however, after the fight he took Corinth, and burnt it. Of the men that were found within the walls, the Romans slew a great part; and Mummius made slaves of the women and children. The slaves, too, that had been liberated by and fought for the Achaians, and that did not fall in the beginning of the battle, were exposed to sale. The votive offerings, and other ornaments worthy of the greatest admiration, were carried to Rome, and what remained Mummius gave to Philopoemen, the leader of the forces sent by Attalus; and even at present these spoils taken from the Corinthians are to be seen among the Pergamenians. With respect to the other cities that warred against the Romans, Mummius threw down their walls, and took away the arms of the citizens, and accomplished all this before messengers were sent to him from Rome, to inform him how he was to act. But as soon as these messengers arrived, he put an end to the Democratic government of these cities; established in its stead Oligarchies; laid a tribute on all Greece; forbade the wealthy the possession of land beyond their own boundaries; and abolished the assemblies of the several Achaic nations, whether they were held among the Phocenses, Bœotians, or in any other part of Greece. Not many years, however, after this, the Romans were moved to compassion for the Greeks; permitted each nation to restore its ancient assembly, and to possess land beyond its own boundaries; and remitted the fine which Mummius had laid on the several cities. For he had ordered the Bœotians and

Euboeenses to pay the Heracleotæ one hundred talents; and the Achaians two hundred to the Lacedæmonians. Greece, therefore, being reduced into the form of a Roman province, a prætor is even at present sent to it from Rome. This governor the Romans do not call the prætor of Greece, but of Achaia; because the Greeks were subdued at that period when the Achaians held the first rank among them. This Achaic war, too, was finished when Antitheus was the Athenian archon, in the one hundred and sixtieth Olympiad, in which Diodorus the Sicyonian was victorious.

CHAPTER XVII.

At this time Greece was in a condition imbecile in the extreme, being afflicted in its parts, and reduced to indigence by some divine power. For Argos, which in the times called *heroic* had arrived at a very high degree of power, together with its being transferred to the dominions of the Dorienses, lost the benevolence of fortune. And the Attic nation, which began to flourish again after the Peloponnesian war and the loss occasioned by pestilence, was not many years after oppressed by the vigorous power of the Macedonians. The wrath of Alexander was fatal to the Bœotian Thebes. The Theban Epaminondas, and afterwards the war of the Achaians, injured the Lacedæmonians. And lastly, when the empire of the Achaians, which, being cut off from Greece, resembled a mutilated tree, began to blossom again, the improbity of its generals prevented its increase. Many ages after this, the empire of the Romans devolved upon Nero, who gave liberty to all the Grecian cities, without injuring the Roman empire. For, instead of Greece, he gave the Romans Sardinia, an island in the highest degree fertile and flourishing. When, therefore, I consider this action of Nero, Plato the son of Ariston appears to me to have spoken most truly, when he says, *that unjust actions, which for their magnitude and boldness are of a very transcendant nature, are by no means the offspring of vulgar souls, but of such as are noble, and at the same time corrupted by a depraved education.* This advantageous condition, however, of the Greeks was of no long duration. For when Vespasian succeeded to the empire after Nero, they were disturbed by intestine seditions; and Vespasian having imposed on them an annual tribute, ordered them to obey Roman magistrates, because he said the Greeks had now learned the use of liberty. And such are the particulars which I find happened to the Achaians.

But the river Larissus forms the boundaries of the Achaians and Eleans: and there is a temple of Minerva Larissæa on the banks of the river. The Achaian city Dyme is distant about four hundred stadia from Larissus. Philip the son of Demetrius, when he warred on the Achaians, had this city alone in his possession; and on this account, the Roman general, Ulympieus, gave up Dyme to be plundered by his army. But Augustus afterwards bestowed it on the Patrenses. In former times it was called Palea: but when it came to be in subjection to the Iones, it obtained its present denomination. I do not, however, clearly know, whether it was thus named from a woman Dyme, a native of this place, or from Dymas the son of Ægimius. But if any one reads the elegy inscribed on the statue of Oebotas, he will find great reason to doubt concerning the name of this city. For this Oebotas was a Dymæan who conquered in the stadium in the seventh Olympiad; but the statue was dedicated in Olympia, in consequence of an oracle given at Delphos in the eightieth Olympiad. Upon this statue there is the following epigram:

Oebotas in the stadium victor, raised
His country Palea in Achaia's realms to fame.

That the epigram, therefore, calls the city Palea, and not Dyme, ought not to give any disturbance to the reader. For the more ancient names are employed by the Greeks, in poetical compositions, instead of such as are more recent. Thus they call Amphiaraus and Adrastus, Phoronidæ, and Theseus Erechthides.

At a small distance from the city, and in the road on the right hand is the sepulchre of Sostratus. This youth was a native of the place; and was, as they say, one of the lovers of Hercules. They farther add, that Sostratus dying while Hercules was yet among men, Hercules raised this tomb for him, and sacrificed to him the hairs of his head. At present, too, there is a pillar placed over a heap of earth, and upon it a statue of Hercules. It is likewise said, that the natives perform funeral sacrifices to Sostratus. Besides this the Dymæi have a temple of Minerva, and a statue of the goddess, which is very ancient. They have also another temple sacred to the mother Dindymene, and Attes. But who Attes is, I have not been able to discover, because it is an arcane affair. Hermesianax, indeed, a writer of elegies, says, that he was the son of the Phrygian Calaus, and that he was produced by his mother incapable of begetting children. That when he arrived at manhood he migrated to Lydia, and established there the orgies of the Great Mother. And that he was so highly honoured by the goddess, that it excited the indignation of Jupiter, who sent a boar into the Lydian fields, by which other Lydians were destroyed, and Attes himself was slain. The Gauls who inhabit Pessinus, confirm by their conduct the truth of this relation, for they cannot bear to touch swine. However, they report things concerning Attes far different from the above.

Jupiter, say they, while he was asleep emitted his seed on the earth; this in process of time produced a dæmon with twofold private parts, viz. with the parts of man and woman united. The name of this dæmon was Agdistis: and the gods, in consequence of being terrified at him, cut off his virile parts. From these parts an almond tree was produced, the fruit of which, when ripe, the daughter of the river Sangarius gathered and concealed in her bosom. The fruit, however, immediately vanished, and she became pregnant. As the result of her pregnancy, she was delivered of a boy, who being left in the woods was educated by a goat, and who, as he grew in years, possessed a beauty surpassing that of the human form, and through which Agdistis fell in love with him. But when he arrived at manhood, his friends sent him to Pesinus, in order that he might marry the daughter of the king. Here, as they were singing the nuptial song, Agdistis presented himself before them, and Attes becoming insane, cut off his private parts. The king's daughter, too, that was given to Attes, cut off her privities. But Agdistis was grieved that Attes had acted in this manner, and obtained of Jupiter that no part of the body of Attes should either become putrid or waste away. And such are the particulars which are reported about Attes. In the Dymæan land, too, there is a monument of the victory of Oebotas in the race. This Oebotas was the first of the Achaians that was crowned in the Olympic games, but not receiving any considerable honour from his fellow-citizens, they say, that he made dire execrations, that no Achaian might conquer in these games. The Achaians afterwards understood the reason why they could never obtain the Olympic crown (for some god took care to render the execration of Oebotas effectual), by sending certain persons to the oracle at Delphos; and among other honours which they paid to Oebotas, dedicated his statue in Olympia; in consequence of which, Sostratus Pelleneus conquered boys in the stadium. Indeed, even at present, it is usual with the Achaians, previous to their contending in the Olympic games, to perform funeral sacrifices to Oebotas, and when they have been victorious in these games, to crown his statue.

CHAPTER XVIII.

On proceeding from Dyme to about the distance of forty stadia, you will see the river Pirus pouring itself into the sea: and near it is an Achaian city, Olenus, which was formerly inhabited. Those, indeed, that make mention of Hercules and his labours, particularly mention by what king he was entertained in Olenus, and what gifts he hospitably received from him. And that the city Olenus was small from the very first, is evinced by the elegy composed by Hermesianax upon the Centaur Eurytion. But in process of time, they say, that the inhabitants deserted this city on account of its imbecility, and migrated to Piræ and Euryteæ. The city Patræ is about eighty stadia distant from the river Pirus: and not far from it the river Glaucus runs into the sea. Those who describe the antiquities of Patræ, say, that a native of this place, whose name was Eumelus, first dwelt in this country, and reigned over a few men. That Triptolemus came to him from the Attic land, from whom Eumelus received mild fruits, and was instructed in the art of building a city; and that he called the first city which he built Aroe, from the cultivation of the soil. That as soon as Triptolemus betook himself to rest, Antheas the son of Eumelus yoked the dragons of Triptolemus to the car, and attempted to sow seed from it; but that he fell from the chariot and died. And lastly, that Triptolemus and Eumelus called, by joint consent, the city which they had built, Anthea, from the name of the youth. They also relate, that the city Messatis was built between Anthea and Aroe. However, I shall leave the Patrenses to relate what they report concerning Bacchus, as that he was educated in Messatis, and being circumvented by the stratagems of Pans, arrived at the very extremity of danger, the Patrenses at the same time not opposing the name Messatis.

But the Iones being afterwards expelled by the Achaians, Patreus the son of Preugenes, and the grandson of Agenor, forbade the Achaians to inhabit Anthea and Messatis; and enlarging the wall towards Aroe, so that Aroe might be inclosed by it, he called the city Patræ, after his own name. But Agenor was the father of Preugenes, the son of Areus, and the grandson of Ampyx: and Ampyx was the son of Pelias, who descended from Æginetas, Deritus, Harpalus, Amyclas, and Lacedæmon. And such were the ancestors of Patreus. The Patrenses, too, alone of all the Achaians, once privately passed over into Ætolia, through their friendship to the Ætolians, that they might assist them in their war against the Gauls. However, having suffered greatly in the war, and many of them being oppressed with want, they left Patræ, a few of them excepted. Those that were left, being scattered about the country, through a desire of procuring employment, began to inhabit the small towns, Messatis, Anthea, Boline, Argyra, and Aroe. But Augustus, either thinking that Patræ would form a convenient port for ships, or for some other reason, brought back again from the other small cities all the inhabitants to Patræ; and likewise peopled it with the Achaians from Rhypæ, after he had razed that city from its foundations. Besides this, he gave liberty to the Patrenses alone of all the Achaians, and bestowed upon them such other benefits as the Romans are accustomed to confer upon their colonies. But the Patrenses have a temple in their tower of Laphria Diana. The name of the goddess is foreign, and the statue was brought hither from some other place. For Calydon and the other parts of Ætolia being laid waste by Augustus, in order that Nicopolis above the promontory Actium might be inhabited, the Patrenses by this means obtained the statue of Laphria Diana.

In a similar manner, too, with respect to the other statues which were taken away from Ætolia and the Acarnanes, Augustus ordered many of them to be carried to Nicopolis, and among many other of the Calydonian spoils, gave the Patrenses the statue of Laphria, which they venerate even at present in their tower. They say, that the appellation Laphria was given to the goddess by a Phocensian man: for Laphrius the brother of Castalius dedicated an ancient statue of Diana among the Calydonians. There are others who think that this name originated from the anger of the goddess towards the Calydonians, on account of Oeneus becoming in time more gentle. The figure of the statue is that of a huntress, and is made of ivory and gold. Its artificers were the Naupactians, Menæchus, and Soidas, who are conjectured to have lived not long after the Sicyonian Canachus, and Callon Æginetes. The Patrenses, too, celebrate a festival in honour of Diana Laphria every year, in which they sacrifice to her after the manner of their country. For they place green wood circularly about an altar, each piece being sixteen cubits in length: but within the altar they place the driest wood. They frame, too, for the time of the festival, steps by which they may ascend to the altar, and bring smooth earth, which they lay on the steps of the altar. They first of all send forth a procession in honour of the goddess, adorned with most magnificent apparel, and a virgin, who acts as priestess, brings up the rear of the procession, riding in a chariot drawn by two elephants. On the following day the sacrifices to the goddess are performed with great earnestness both privately and publicly. For they throw living animals on the altar, birds fit to be eaten, and victims of all kinds; and besides these, savage boars, stags and goats, the young of wolves and bears, some of the most perfect of wild beasts, and last of all the fruit of wild trees. After this they set the wood on fire. And when this was done, I myself once saw a bear, and other animals that were placed on the altar, thrown by the violence of the flames beyond the altar; and some of these through their strength fled away. They were, however, brought back again and placed on the pyre: and they report, that no one was injured by the savage animals.

CHAPTER XIX.

But there is a sepulchre of Eurypylus between the temple of Laphria and the altar. Who this Eurypylus was, and on what account he came hither, I shall explain after I have first described the condition of the inhabitants in these places, prior to his arrival. When the Iones possessed Aroe, Anthea, and Messatis, there was a grove and temple of Diana Triclaria in a certain edifice. The Iones celebrated a festival every year, and offered sacrifices to the goddess, which lasted all night. A virgin acted as priestess till she was given in marriage. They say, therefore, it once happened that a most beautiful virgin, whose name was Comætho, officiated as priestess to the goddess; and that one Melanippus, a young man who surpassed those of his own age, both in other respects, and in the beauty of his person, fell in love with her. As soon, therefore, as Melanippus had inflamed the virgin with a love equal to his own, he asked permission of her father to marry her. It happens, however, that old age, amongst its other defects, is for the most part averse from gratifying the desires of youth, and particularly that it does not sympathise with young men in the torments of love. Hence Melanippus, who would have willingly led away the no less willing Comætho, was far from finding either his own or the virgin's parents disposed to the match. But the passion of Melanippus as well as that of many others evinced, that love occasions men to violate the laws of men, and profane the honours of the gods: for Comætho and Melanippus satisfied the impulse of love in the temple of Diana; and afterwards used the temple just as if it had been a bedchamber. The inhabitants, however, immediately experienced the wrath of Diana for this pollution of her temple: for the land yielded no fruit, unusual diseases abounded, and, in consequence of them, a mortality greater than usual prevailed.

Oppressed with such calamities, the inhabitants fled to the Delphic oracle; and the Pythian deity accused Melanippus and Comætho as the authors of their misfortunes. The oracle, too, ordered them to sacrifice the offenders to Diana, and immolate every year to the goddess a virgin and young man of surpassing beauty. On account, therefore, of this sacrifice, the river which flows near the temple of Triclaria Diana, came to be called *Ameilichos,* or *implacable;* for prior to this, it was without a name. And thus the profane deed of Melanippus and Comætho brought destruction on many young men and virgins, who had not by their conduct offended the goddess, and caused great affliction to their parents. I consider, however, the lovers, Melanippus and Comætho, as exempt from the calamity: for to man alone the enjoyment of a beloved object is equivalent to life. But this sacrifice of the human species to Diana is said to have ceased on the following occasion. The inhabitants, prior to this, had known from a Delphic oracle, that a foreign king would arrive in their country, bringing with him a foreign dæmon, and that when this happened, their sacrifice to Triclaria would cease. Troy, therefore, being taken, and the spoils divided among the Greeks, Eurypylus the son of Euæmon received a chest, which contained a statue of Bacchus, the work, as they say, of Vulcan, and the gift of Jupiter to Dardanus.

Of this chest there are two reports. According to some, it was left by Æneas when he fled from Troy: but according to others, it was thrown away by Cassandra, as she knew that it would prove unfortunate to any Greek who should find it. Eurypylus, therefore, opened the chest, saw the statue, and in consequence of seeing it, became immediately insane; and this in such a manner, that though he sometimes enjoyed the use of his reason, yet he passed the greater part of his life in a state of madness. In consequence, therefore, of this malady, he did not sail to Thessaly, but to Cirrha, and the bay in that place. From hence he proceeded to Delphos, and inquired of the oracle by what means he might be liberated from his disease. The oracle answered him, that he should dedicate the chest, and take up his abode in that place in which he should meet with men sacrificing after a foreign manner. The wind, therefore, impelled the vessels of Eurypylus to the sea near Aroe; and he landing on the shore of Aroe, met with a boy and a virgin whom they were leading along in order to be sacrificed on the altar of Triclaria Diana. Without any great difficulty, therefore, he perceived that this sacrifice was that to which the oracle alluded. The natives, too, recollected the oracle which had been given them, on seeing a king whom they had never beheld, and suspected that the chest contained the statue of some divinity. And thus was Eurypylus freed from his disease, and the country from human sacrifices; and the river was now called *Meilichos*, or *mild*. Some persons, however, have asserted in their writings, that the above particulars did not happen to the Thessalian Eurypylus; but that Eurypylus the son of Dexamenus, who reigned in Olenus, came with Hercules against Troy, and received from him the chest. In other respects, they agree with what we have related. But for my own part, I cannot be persuaded that Hercules was ignorant of what the chest contained; or that if he knew its contents, he would have given it to a man who was nothing more than his associate in war. Indeed, the Patrenses are not acquainted with any other Eurypylus than he who was the son of Euæmon, to whom they perform funeral sacrifices every year, after the celebration of the festival of Bacchus.

CHAPTER XX.

The deity who was concealed in this chest was called Æsymnetes. But those who principally reverence the god are nine men, who are selected out of the chief persons in the city, and as many women of equal rank: and on one night of the festival the priest exposes the chest to public view; for such is the honour to which that night is destined. All the children of the inhabitants, too, descend to the river Meilichos, crowned with ears of corn, and adorned after the ancient manner in which youths and virgins were led to be sacrificed to Diana. At present, these crowns, made of ears of corn, are dedicated to the goddess. But after they have washed themselves in the river, and have put on crowns of ivy, they proceed to the temple of Æsymnetes. And such is the manner of their sacrificing to Æsymnetes. Within the inclosure of the temple of Laphria Diana there is a temple of Minerva, who is called *Panachaïs;* and whose statue is of ivory and gold. But on proceeding to the inferior part of the city, you will see a temple of the mother Dindymene, in which Attes is honoured. They do not, however, exhibit any statue of the god: but there is a stone statue of Dindymene. In the forum there is a temple of Jupiter Olympius: and the god sits on a throne, near which Minerva stands. Near the temple of Olympian Jupiter there is a statue of Juno, and a temple of Apollo, which contains a naked brazen statue of the god, with shoes on its feet; and the statue stands with one of its feet on the skull of an ox. For that Apollo is particularly delighted with oxen, is shown by Alcæus in his hymn to

Mercury, in which he speaks of oxen that were stolen by Mercury from Apollo. Indeed, prior to Alcæus, Homer asserts, that Apollo fed the herds of Laomedon for a reward: and in the Iliad, he represents Neptune thus speaking:

"Troy's walls I raised (for such were Jove's commands)
And yon proud bulwarks grew beneath my hands:
Thy task it was to feed the bellowing droves
Along fair Ida's vales and pendent groves."

It may be conjectured, therefore, that Apollo was thus represented with his foot on the skull of an ox, in consequence of these assertions of Alcæus and Homer.

But in that part of the forum which is in the open air, there is a statue of Minerva, and before it the sepulchre of Patreus. After the forum follows the Odeum, or music-school, in which there is a statue of Apollo well worthy of inspection. This was made by the Patrenses out of the spoils which they took, when they alone of all the Achaians assisted the Ætolians against the Gauls. The Odeum here surpasses in ornament every place of a similar kind in Greece, except that at Athens. For the Athenian Odeum is superior to this, both in magnitude and the whole of its apparatus. But it was raised by an Athenian whose name was Herodes, in memory of his wife. This circumstance I made no mention of in my description of the Attic affairs, because I had composed that account before Herodes raised the Odeum. On leaving the forum, and proceeding to that part of Patræ which contains the temple of Apollo, there is a gate at the extremity of this place, and upon it golden statues, viz. Patreus, Preugenes, and Atherion, the two last of whom were boys, at the same time that Patreus was a boy. Along this road, and opposite to the forum, there is a grove and temple of Limnatis Diana. They report, that when the Dorienses possessed Lacedæmonia and Argos, Preugenes, in consequence of a dream, took away the statue of Limnatis

Diana from Sparta; and that one of his servants, in whom he had the greatest confidence, assisted him in his undertaking. This statue, after it was brought by Preugenes from Sparta, was preserved in Mesoa. However, when they celebrate the festival of the goddess Limnatis, one of the servants belonging to the sacred rites, carries this statue from Mesoa to Patræ, and places it in the grove within the city. In this grove the Patrenses have, likewise, other temples: but these are not in the open air, but there is an entrance to them through certain porches. The statue of Æsculapius which is here is made of stone, except the garment: but the statue of Minerva is made of ivory and gold. Before the temple of Minerva is the sepulchre of Preugenes, to whom they perform funeral sacrifices every year, at the time in which they celebrate the festival of Limnatis Diana. But not far from the theatre there are two temples, one of Nemesis, the other of Venus. The statues of these goddesses are very large, and are made of white stone.

CHAPTER XXI.

In this part of the city, too, there is a temple of Bacchus, who is called Calydonius: for the statue of the god was brought from Calydon. While Calydon stood, Coresus was one of the priests of Bacchus, who suffered very unjustly through love. For he was in love with a virgin Callirhoe, but so unfortunately, that the hatred of the virgin rose in proportion to the ardour of his love. When Coresus, therefore, found that he was unable, either by prayers or gifts, to move the virgin to love him, he came in a suppliant posture to the statue of Bacchus, who heard the prayer of his priest, and afflicted the Calydonians with a degree of insanity like that produced by intoxication, through which great numbers of them continually perished. In consequence of this, the inhabitants fled to the oracle in Dodona. For, at that time, those that dwelt here, as also the Ætolians, and their neighbours the Acarnanes and Epirots, placed great confidence in the oracles which were delivered from the oak, and in the prophetic properties of doves. The oracle, therefore, of Dodona, told them, that their calamity was produced by the anger of Bacchus, and that they would not be liberated from their disease till Coresus either sacrificed Callirhoe, or some other person who had the courage to die in her stead. As the virgin, however, found no one willing to procure her safety by dying for her, she fled for refuge to those by whom she had been educated. But here finding no assistance, nothing now remained for her but to die. Every thing, therefore, being prepared for the sacrifice agreeably to the admonition of the Dodonean oracle, she was led after the manner of a victim to the altar. Coresus himself presided over the sacrifice: but he, giving way to his love, and not to his anger, slew himself instead of Callirhoe; and by this means gave the most insane specimen of love of any person we are acquainted with. Callirhoe, however, as soon as she saw that Coresus had slain himself, found her hatred of the youth vanish, and love succeed in its stead. Hence, through pity of Coresus, and shame for her behaviour towards him, she cut her throat by the fountain which is not far from the port in Calydon: and this fountain afterwards was called Callirhoe from the name of the virgin.

Near the theatre, too, the Patrenses have a grove, which is sacred to a woman who was a native of this place. In this grove there are statues of Bacchus, equal in number to the Achaian towns, and of the same names with them: for they are denominated Mesateus, Antheus, and Aroeus. These statues, during the festival of Bacchus, are brought into the temple of Æsymnetes. This temple is situated in that part of the city which is near the sea, and, as you leave the forum, is on the right hand. But as you descend from the temple of Æsymnetes, you will perceive another temple, and a stone statue. This temple is called the temple of the Saviour, and, as they report, was dedicated by Eurypylus, when he was freed from his insanity. Near the port there is a temple of Neptune, with a stone statue in an upright position. Neptune, indeed, besides those appellations which are assigned him by poets for the sake of adorning their verses, has some particular denomination from every city. He is, however, called in common by all nations *Pelagæan*, *Asphaliæan*, and *Hippian*. Some one, perhaps, may think that this last appellation was given to the god from other causes: but I conjecture that he was so called, because he invented the art of riding. Homer, indeed, when he describes the horse-races of the Greeks, represents Menelaus as calling on Antilochus to swear by Neptune as follows:

"Rise if thou darest, before thy chariot stand,
The driving scourge high-lifted in thy hand;
And touch thy steeds, and swear thy whole intent
Was but to conquer, not to circumvent.
Swear by that god whose liquid arms surround
The globe, and whose dread earthquakes heave the ground."

But Pamphus, who made the most ancient hymns for the Athenians, says that Neptune is the god to whom

"Horses we owe, and swelling sails for ships."

So that it is probable the god was denominated from riding on horseback, and not from any thing else.

In Patræ, too, not far from the temple of Neptune, there are temples of Venus: and one of her statues was drawn up by some fishermen in a net, in the age preceding the present. There are, likewise, brazen statues of Mars and Apollo near the port: but at the port there is a grove and statue of Venus, the face, hands, and feet of which are stone, but the other parts are of wood. They have also a grove near the sea, which is admirably adapted for the course, and affords an elegant retreat in summer. In this grove there are temples of Apollo and Venus, whose statues are made of stone. After the grove follows a temple of Ceres: and there are statues in it of the goddess and her daughter, in a standing position; but the statue of Earth in the temple is in a sitting posture. Before the temple, too, of Ceres, there is a fountain, which is separated from the temple by a stone-wall: and there is a descent to it by steps on the outside. This temple has a true oracle; but it does not predict all events, but only those of disease. They let down a mirror, which is suspended by a slender rope, and balanced in such a manner that it may not be merged in the fountain with its anterior part, but so that the water may lightly touch its circumference. After this, having prayed to the god, and made a fumigation, they look into the mirror, and by this means perceive whether the sick person will live or die. And thus far does the truth of this water extend. In Cyaneæ, too, very near Lycia, there is an oracle of Apollo Thyrxeus; and there is a fountain near Cyaneæ. Those who descend into this fountain in a similar manner perceive whatever they wish to behold. But in Patræ near the grove there are two temples of Serapis: and in one of them there is a sepulchre of Ægyptus the son of Belus. The Patrenses report, that he fled to Aroe, worn out with grief for his sons, abhorring the name of Argos, and being very much in fear of Danaus. The Patrenses, likewise, have a temple of Æsculapius. This temple is above the tower, and near the gates which lead to Messatis. But the women in Patræ are double in number to the men, and are remarkably prone to venery. They procure a living by weaving hair nets for women, and other kinds of apparel, from the fine flax which grows in Elis.

CHAPTER XXII.

But Pharæ, which is an Achaian city, was given to the Patrenses by Augustus. And the road from Pharæ to Patræ is one hundred and fifty stadia in length: but from the sea upwards towards the continent, there is an interval of eighty stadia. The river Pierus too flows near Pharæ: and this, as it appears to me, is the river which flows through the ruins of Olenus, and which the inhabitants near the sea call Pirus. Near this river there is a grove of plane-trees, many of which are hollow through age, and besides this, of such a magnitude, that those who are so inclined may feast and sleep in them as in caverns. But the inclosure of the forum is very large, after the ancient manner of the forums in Pharæ. In the middle of this forum there is a stone statue of Mercury with a beard. This statue stands on the earth without any basis, is of a square figure, and is of no great magnitude. The inscription on it signifies, that it was dedicated by the Messenian Simulus. But the god is called *Agoraios* or *judicial*. Near this statue there is an oracle; and before the statue there is a Vesta of stone, to which brazen lamps are soldered with lead. Those, therefore, who wish to consult the god, come hither in the evening, sacrifice with frankincense to Vesta, then fill the lamps with oil and light them, and afterwards place a piece of money belonging to the country on the altar, and on the right hand of the statue. This piece of money is called *brass;* and he who desires to ask any question, addresses the ear of the god, and after this leaves the forum, closing his ears. But when he has entirely left the forum, he removes his hands from his ears, and considers any voice which he may happen to hear as an oracle. There is an oracle of this kind belonging to the Ægyptians in the temple of Serapis.

In Pharæ, likewise, there is a piece of water sacred to Mercury. The name of the fountain is Hama: and they do not catch the fish which are in it, because they consider them as sacred to the god. Very near this statue there are thirty quadrangular stones. These the Pharenses venerate, calling each by the name of some particular god. Indeed, it was formerly the custom with all the Greeks to reverence rude stones in the place of statues of the gods. But at about fifteen stadia from Pharæ there is a grove of the Dioscuri, which principally abounds with planted laurel-trees. There is, however, no temple in the grove; nor does it contain any statues; for they report, that the natives carried the statues to Rome. But the grove has an altar raised from chosen stones. The Pharenses, too, are not certain whether Phares, who was the son of Philodamia the daughter of Danaus, or some other of the same name, was the founder of their city. But Tritia, which is an Achaian city, is situated in the most inland parts; and was given to the Patrenses by Cæsar. There is a distance of about one hundred and twenty stadia between Tritia and Pharæ. But before you arrive at Tritia, you will see a sepulchre of white stone, which deserves to be inspected on other accounts, and particularly for the pictures within the tomb, which were painted by Nicias. In this sepulchre a beautiful young virgin sits on a throne of ivory, and a female servant stands by her, holding an umbrella. A youth, likewise, in an upright position, stands near her. This youth is without a beard, has a robe on, and a purple cloak over his robe. Near this youth there is a servant holding darts, and leading along dogs proper for hunting. The names of these persons are unknown: but we may very probably infer that a man and his wife are buried in this tomb.

With respect to the founder of Tritia, some report that it was Celbidas, and that he came from Cuma, a country belonging to the Opici, who are a people of Campania. But, according to others, Mars had connexion with Tritia, the daughter of Triton. This Tritia was a priestess of Minerva, while she remained a virgin: but Melanippus, the son of Mars and Tritia built and enlarged the city, and called it after the name of his mother. In Tritia there is a temple of those gods, who are called *the greatest gods*. But their statues are made of a certain clay. Every year they celebrate a festival to these divinities, which is in no respect different from that which the Greeks celebrate in honour of Bacchus. There is also a temple of Minerva here; and there is a stone statue of the goddess to be seen even at present; for the Tritæenses report, that the ancient statue of the goddess was taken to Rome. In this temple they sacrifice to Mars and Tritia. And such are the cities which are situated at a distance from the sea, and are firmly established on the continent. But as you sail to Ægium from Patræ, you will in the first place see a promontory, which is called Rhion, and which is about fifty stadia distant from Patræ. The port Panormus is distant from this promontory fifteen stadia; and that which is called the wall of Minerva is at the same distance from Panormus. But from the wall of Minerva to the port called *Erineos*, or *the wild fig-tree*, there is a distance by sea of ninety stadia. From hence to Ægium there is a distance of sixty stadia. But if you walk from Erineos to Ægium, the journey is shorter by forty stadia than the passage by sea. The river Meilichos, too, and the temple of Triclaria, are not far from the city of the Patrenses: but no statue remains in the temple. This temple is situated on the right hand. But as you proceed from the river Meilichos, you will see another river which is called Charadros. Cattle that drink out of this river in spring for the most part bring forth males; and on this account shepherds drive all their cattle except oxen to a different part of the country. But they suffer these to drink out of the river, because they consider bulls as better adapted to the purposes of sacrifice and the cultivation of the land than cows. They pay more respect, however, to the females of other cattle than to the males.

CHAPTER XXIII.

After the river Charadros there are ruins, though by no means splendid ones, of the city Argyræ: and on the right hand of the public road is the fountain Argyra, and the river Selemnus pouring itself into the sea. The inhabitants report concerning this river, that Selemnus was a beautiful youth, who used to feed his flocks in this part of the country; and that Argyra, one of the nymphs belonging to the sea, fell in love with him. They add, that she used to leave the sea, and sleep with the youth near the river. That not long after, Selemnus lost all the beauty of his person, and the nymph ceased to visit him; and that the youth being deprived of Argyra, died through the violence of his love, and was changed by Venus into a river. However, his love for Argyra continued even after his metamorphosis (as the Patrenses say), just in the same manner as they report of Alpheus with respect to Arethusa, till through the assistance of Venus, he became oblivious of the nymph. There is also another report concerning him, which is as follows: The water of this river Selemnus is a cure for love, both to men and women: and those who wash in the river, experience an oblivion of their love. If, therefore, there be any truth in this report, the water of Selemnus is far more precious to mankind than gold. At some distance from Argyra flows the river Bolinæus: and the city Bolina, which is near it, was once inhabited. They say that a virgin, Boline, was once beloved by Apollo; and that she flying from his embraces, threw herself into the sea in this part of the country, and through the favour of Apollo became immortal.

From hence a promontory extends itself to the sea: and it is reported, that in this sea Saturn threw the scythe with which he cut off the genitals of his father Heaven; and that on this account the promontory was denominated *Drepanon*. But a little above the public road are the ruins of Rhypæ. Ægium is about thirty stadia distant from hence. The river Phœnix, too, runs through the country of Ægium, and another river Meganetas, both which pour themselves into the sea. But there is a porch near the city which was raised for the athletic Straton, who, on the same day, was victorious in Olympia in the pancratium, and in wrestling. This porch was built that he might have a place to exercise himself in. The Ægienses, too, have an ancient temple of Lucina. The statue of the goddess is veiled from the head to the feet with a thin veil, and is made of wood, except the face, and the extremities of the hands and feet; for these are made of Pentelican stone. The statue, too, extends one of its hands, and with the other holds a torch. Any one may conjecture, that torches are given to Lucina, because the pains of labour are equally sharp with the torments of burning: or you may say, that torches belong to her, because she leads offspring into light. This statue was made by the Messenian Damophon. Not far from the temple of Lucina, there is a grove sacred to Æsculapius, and in it are statues of Hygia and Æsculapius. An Iambic verse on the basis of the statue signifies, that it was made by the Messenian Damophon. In this temple of Æsculapius I had a dispute with a Sidonian, who said that the Phœnicians knew better than the Greeks such particulars as respect a divine nature, and that according to them, Apollo was the father of Æsculapius, but that his mother was by no means a mortal woman. That, indeed, Æsculapius is air, which is equally subservient to the *health* both of men and all animals: but that Apollo is the Sun, and is very properly denominated the father of Æsculapius, because the *sun* harmonizing the seasons by his course, gives salubrity to the *air*.

This explanation I can very readily admit; but it is not more Phœnician than Græcian: for in Titana, a town of the Sicyonians, the statue of Æsculapius is called the statue of *Health*; and it is evident even to a child, that the course of the sun is the cause of health to men on the earth. The Ægienses, too, have a temple of Minerva, and a grove of Juno. In the temple of Minerva there are two statues of white stone; but the statue of Juno cannot be beheld by any person, except the woman who acts as priestess to the goddess. There is also a temple here of Bacchus, near the theatre; and it contains a statue without a beard. They have a grove, too, in the forum of Jupiter the Saviour: and on entering the forum, on the left hand you will perceive two brazen images, of which that without a beard appears to me to be the most ancient. But the brazen statues which, as you proceed straight forwards, will present themselves to your view in a building sacred to Neptune and Hercules, to Jupiter and Minerva, are called *Argives*, either, as the Argives say, because they were made in an Argive city, or, as the Ægienses report, because they were given to them by the Argives, and afterwards dedicated by them in this place. But the Ægienses being ordered to sacrifice daily to these statues, invented this stratagem. They slaughtered many victims, and consecrated them to the gods, but afterwards eat them at a public feast; and by this means were hardly at any expense in their sacrifices. At length, however, these statues were demanded back again by the Argives; and then the Ægienses desired to be paid the money which they had spent in sacrifices. But this money not being paid, the statues were left with the Ægienses. Near the forum, too, the Ægienses have a temple sacred to Apollo and Diana in common; and in the forum there is a temple of Diana, and in it a statue of the goddess, which is in the attitude of a person discharging an arrow. There is also a sepulchre here of the herald Talthybius, who has a tomb formed from a pile of earth in Sparta; and both cities perform his funeral rites.

CHAPTER XXIV.

But near the sea in Ægium there is a temple of Venus. This is followed by the temples of Neptune, Proserpine, and Jupiter *the Congregator*. In this last temple there are statues of Jupiter, Venus, and Minerva. But Jupiter is called *the Congregator*, because Agamemnon collected together in this place the most illustrious of the Greeks in order that he might deliberate with them in common, on the proper means of warring on the kingdom of Priam. Among other things for which Agamemnon deserves praise, this is one, that he warred on Troy and the neighbouring cities without any other army coming to his assistance than that which followed him from the first. The temple of Ceres Panachaia is next to that of Jupiter the Congregator. But that part of the Ægiensian coast in which these temples are contained exhibits the following particulars worthy of relation. In the first place there is a very copious stream of water, and which is very sweet at its source. In the next place there is a temple of *Safety*, in which it is not lawful for any one to behold the statue except the priests. Among other sacred ceremonies they perform the following: Receiving from the goddess cakes made after the manner of their country, they throw them into the sea, and assert, that they send them to the Arethusa of the Syracusans. The Ægienses, too, have other statues made of brass, viz. a Jupiter, who is but a boy as to his age, and a Hercules without a beard: and these were made by the Argive Agelidas. Priests are chosen every year to attend on these statues; and each statue is preserved in the house of its ministrant priest. In more ancient times, indeed, the most beautiful of youths was chosen to officiate as priest to Jupiter: and this youth, as soon as he began to have a beard, was succeeded in his office by another beautiful youth. And such are the religious ceremonies of the Ægienses.

At present, too, an assembly of Achaians is held in Ægium, after the same manner as that of the Amphictyons at Thermopylæ and Delphos. Proceeding from hence the river Selinus presents itself to the view; and at about the distance of forty stadia from Ægium, the city Helice is situated by the sea, in which formerly the Iones had a most holy temple of Heliconian Neptune. They report, that they venerated this divinity from the time when, being driven from their city by the Achaians, they fled to Athens, and afterwards came from Athens to the maritime coast of Asia. Among the Milesians, too, as you go to the fountain Biblias, there is an altar before the city of Heliconian Neptune. In like manner among the Teians, there is an inclosure and altar sacred to Heliconian Neptune, which deserve to be inspected. Homer, too, makes mention of Helice, and Heliconian Neptune. But in after times, when the Achaians drew from this temple certain suppliants that had fled to it for shelter, and slew them, the anger of Neptune was by no means slow to revenge the impiety of the deed. For he not only overthrew the walls and buildings by earthquakes, but razed the very city from its foundations, and this in such a manner that no vestige of it was left to future times. Indeed, divinity previously signifies by certain usual tokens approaching desolation, when mighty earthquakes are about to take place. For unceasing rains, or dryness of the soil continue for a great length of time prior to earthquakes. The air, likewise, every year becomes hot even in winter; and in summer the orb of the sun is either covered with darkness, and is of an unusual colour, or is remarkably red, or tends to a black colour. Besides all this, fountains of water are for the most part dried up, and violent winds tear up trees by their roots. Bodies, too, are seen running in the heavens, accompanied with abundance of flame: and the stars appear in a shape different from that which they possessed before, and excite great terror in those that behold them. Besides, very powerful vapours rise from the profundities of the earth. And these, and many other signals are given by divinity prior to the desolation produced by violent earthquakes.

This motion, however, is not of one kind only: but those who have investigated this matter the first of all others, and their disciples, inform us that earthquakes are of various kinds; and that the most gentle kind (if we can admit that there is any gentleness in such a violent evil) takes place when, together with the motion now commencing, and with the subversion of houses from their foundations, an opposite motion counteracts the effects of the former, and raises the buildings already buried in the ground. When an earthquake, therefore, of this kind happens, pillars which have been thrown down are again raised; the parts of walls which have been separated become again united; beams which have been moved out of their proper places are restored to their former situations; and aqueducts, and other conveniences for the reception of water, when their parts have been torn asunder by the violence of the motion, have been again united in a manner beyond what human art is able to accomplish. But the second kind of earthquake takes place when the strongest building falls to the ground, just as if it was thrown down by warlike engines. And the most pernicious of all is that which they assimilate to the breath of a man in a fever, which is impelled upwards with great density and violence; and which is signified by other parts of the body, but particularly by the hands in that place where they join to the arms. In a similar manner this last kind of earthquake, say they, vibrates, when it throws down buildings from their foundations; and resembles the operations of moles in the recesses of the earth. But this kind of motion alone leaves no vestiges of habitations on the ground; and they report, that Helice was shaken from its very foundation with an earthquake of this kind. They farther report, too, that, together with this, they suffered the following calamity. During the winter season of the year there was once such an inundation of the sea, that all Helice was surrounded with it; and the grove of Neptune was so merged under the water, that the tops of the trees alone could be seen. At the same time, too, the god shaking the earth on a sudden, and the sea pouring on the land, from the combined force of these two, the city with all its inhabitants was buried under the inundating waves. A similar calamity was the total destruction of the city Midea: and another city in Sipylus was swallowed up in an opening of the ground. But from that part of the mountain from which the city was torn, water afterwards burst forth, and the chasm became a lake, which was called Saloe. The ruins, too, of the city might be seen in the lake, before they were covered with the water of a torrent. You may also perceive the ruins of Helice, but no longer in the same manner as before, because they are now corrupted by the salt water.

CHAPTER XXV.

HELICE, however, is not the only example of the anger of divinity, for the violation of suppliants, but many other cities have suffered on the like account. The divinity in Dodona, too, appears to have exhorted men to reverence suppliants. For the following oracle was given to the Athenians in the time of Aphidas: "Carefully attend to the hill of Mars, and the odoriferous altars of the Furies, because it is necessary that the Lacedæmonians oppressed by hostile spears should become your suppliants. These neither slay with the sword, nor violate the suppliants: for suppliants are sacred and holy." This oracle was recollected by the Greeks, when the Peloponnesians attacked Athens, in the reign of Codrus, the son of Melanthus. For then the remaining forces of the Peloponnesians departed from the Attic territories, when they understood that Codrus was dead, and were told the manner of his death. For they could no longer hope to obtain the victory, as Codrus had devoted himself, in consequence of an oracle given by the Delphic Apollo. And the Spartans, who had entered within the walls, concealed themselves in the night; but perceiving, as soon as it was day, that they were abandoned by their associates, and that the Athenians were pouring on them from every part, they fled to the Areopagus, and to the altars of the Furies. But then the Athenians dismissed the suppliants without punishment. Some time after this, the Athenian magistrates slew the suppliants of Minerva, who belonged to that faction, which together with Cylon had seized on the tower; but both the party concerned in this slaughter, and all their posterity, were obnoxious to the goddess for this offence. The Lacedæmonians, too, who had cut off the men that fled to the temple of Neptune in Tænarus, were not long after afflicted with such a continued and violent earthquake, that there was not a house in Lacedæmon that was able to stand the shock.

But this destruction of Helice happened, when Asteus was the Athenian Archon, and in the fourth year of the one hundred and first Olympiad, in which Damon the Thurian was victor. And as the Helicenses were no more, the

Ægienses took possession of their country. After you have seen Helice, if you turn from the right hand, you will arrive at the small town Cerynea. This town is built above the public road, and stands on a mountain; and is denominated either from the ruler of the place, or from the river Cerynites, which, flowing from Cerynea, a mountain of Arcadia, runs through this part of the Achaic land. The Mycenæi migrated to this town, after the loss which they sustained in the dominions of the Argives. For when the Mycenæi were not able to take the wall of the Argives, on account of its strength (for it was built as well as the Tirynthian wall, by those who are called the Cyclops), they were obliged to leave the city through want of provisions. Some of these, therefore, came to Cleonæ: but more than half of the people fled to Macedonia, to that Alexander by whom Mardonius the son of Gobrias was commissioned to carry certain mandates to the Athenians: the other part of the multitude came to Cerynea. This accession of inhabitants rendered Cerynea much more opulent and renowned than before. But in Cerynea there is a temple of the Furies, which they report was dedicated by Orestes. Whoever enters this temple with a view of beholding its contents, and is at the same time polluted either with slaughter, or any other defilement, or impious conduct, is said to be seized with involuntary terror: and hence it is, that all persons are not permitted to enter indiscriminately. The statues of the goddess in this temple are wooden, and not very large. But in the vestibule of the temple there are stone statues of certain women, which are very well made; and they are said by the natives to be the statues of the priestesses of the Furies. On returning from Cerynea into the public road, and proceeding along it to no great distance, you will arrive by a winding path at Bura, which is situated in a mountain on the right hand of the sea. They say, that this city was denominated from Bura the daughter of Ion the son of Xuthus and Helice.

This town, when divinity totally abolished Helice, was so violently shaken by the earthquake, that not one of the ancient statues was left in the temples; and those Buræans were alone spared, who at that time happened to be absent, either on account of the army, or some other engagement; and by these the city was restored. In Bura there is a temple of Ceres, of Venus, Bacchus, and Lucina. The statues of these divinities are of Pentelican stone, and were made by the Athenian Euclidas. But the statue of Ceres is covered with a garment. There is also a temple of Isis here. And as you descend from Bura to the sea, you will perceive the river Buraicus, and a statue of Hercules of no great magnitude in a cavern. This statue, too, is called Buraicus. Oracles are received here on a table, and with dice. For he who wishes to consult the god prays before the statue, and after he has prayed, takes up the dice, which are scattered in abundance about the statue of Hercules, and throws four of them on the table. On every die certain figures are inscribed, and the table contains an apt interpretation of every figure. From Helice to the cavern of Hercules there is a distance of about thirty stadia. But on leaving the statue of Hercules, you will see a river of ever-running water, pouring itself into the sea from an Arcadian mountain. The name of this mountain, as well as that of the river, is Crathis; and the fountains of this river are in the mountain. From this river, too, a river near Croton in Italy is denominated. But the city Ægæ once stood near the Achaic river Crathis; and they report, that this city came to be abandoned in time through its imbecility. Homer mentions this city in that part of the Iliad, in which Juno discourses with Neptune:

> "Ægæ and Helice thy power obey."

From which verse it is evident, that Neptune was honoured in Helice in Ægæ. But not far from the river Crathis there is a monument on the right hand of the road, and on it the picture of a horseman, which is almost obliterated by time. From this tomb there is a road of about thirty stadia in length, which will bring you to Gæus. This is a temple of Earth, who is denominated *wide-bosomed.* The statue of the goddess is wooden, and is very ancient. A woman is chosen as a perpetual priestess of this divinity, who lives perfectly chaste after she is elected, though previous to this, it is requisite that she should have had connexion with one man, but not with more than one. They make trial of her continence by obliging her to drink bull's blood: and if it appears from this, that she has deceived them, she immediately suffers for the offence. And if many women offer themselves as candidates for the sacerdotal office, the election is determined by lots.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FROM the cavern of Hercules in Bura to the haven of the Ægiratæ (for both the city and the haven have the same name) there is a distance of eighty-two stadia. In the maritime part, however, of Ægira, there is nothing worthy of relation. But from the haven to the upper city there is a distance of twelve stadia. This place is called by Homer Hyperesia. But its present name is derived from its being inhabited by the Iones; and this on the following account: When the Sicyonians, having collected an army, were about to invade this country, the Hyperesienses, who were conscious that they were by no means a match for the Sicyonians, collected together all the goats that were in their land, and binding torches on their horns, enkindled them when the night was far advanced. Upon this the Sicyonians, who suspected that these fires proceeded from the auxiliaries of the Ægiratæ, led back their army. The city, therefore, from this circumstance came to be called *Ægira*, from *aiges*, the Greek word for goats; and in that place, in which the most beautiful of them, and the leader of the rest, laid himself down, they raised a temple of Diana *Agrotera*, or *the huntress;* as they were of opinion, that the stratagem which they employed against the Sicyonians, was the result of inspiration from Diana. However, this city was not immediately called Ægira instead of Hyperesia: for even at present, those that dwell in Oreus in Eubœa, call Oreus by its ancient name Hestiæa. But in Ægira there is a temple of Jupiter which deserves to be mentioned, in which there is a statue of the god in a sitting posture, of Pentelican stone, and which was made by the Athenian Euclidas. In this temple, too, there is a wooden statue of Minerva, the face of which, and the extremities of the hands and feet, are made of ivory; the rest of the statue is gilt and variegated with colours.

In Ægira also there is a temple of Diana, and a statue in it which was made in my time. A virgin acts as priestess to the goddess, till she is fit to marry. In this temple there is an ancient statue, which, according to the Ægiratæ, is the statue of Iphigenia the daughter of Agamemnon. And if this be the case, it is evident that this temple was dedicated at first to Iphigenia. There is a very ancient temple here of Apollo, the ornaments, too, on the roof of which are ancient: and this is the case with the statue of the god which is wooden, naked, and of no great magnitude. The inhabitants cannot tell by whom it was made: but he who has seen the Hercules in Sicyon may infer, that the Apollo in Ægira was made by the Phliasian Laphaes. In this temple there are statues of Æsculapius in an upright position; and in another part of the temple of Serapis and Isis, all which are of Pentelican stone. They particularly reverence Celestial Venus; into whose temple men are not permitted to enter. But into the temple of the goddess whom they denominate Syria, they do not enter except on stated days, and previous to this, they purify themselves both in other respects, and in the article of diet. I remember, too, to have seen a building in Ægira, in which there is a statue of Fortune holding a horn of Amalthea; and near her there is a winged Love. The meaning of this is, that the success of men in love affairs depends more on the assistance of Fortune than the charms of beauty. I am persuaded, too, with Pindar (to whose opinion I subscribe in other particulars), that Fortune is one of the Fates, and that in a certain respect she is more powerful than her sisters. In Ægira, and in this building there is a statue of an old man weeping; and besides this, there are three women taking off their bracelets, and three young men. One of these is clothed with a coat of mail. The Achaians report, that he surpassed all the Ægiratæ in military virtue; that he fell fighting; and that when his brothers carried the news of his death home, his sisters, through grief, laid aside the ornaments of their attire. The natives call the father *Sympathy*, because misery is expressed in his image.

There is a straight road from Ægira, which leads from the temple of Jupiter through lofty mountains to Phelloe. This road is about forty stadia in length: and Phelloe is an obscure little town, which was not constantly inhabited by the Iones, when they were in possession of this country. The land about Phelloe is very well adapted to the cultivation of vines; and in that part of the country which mostly abounds with stones, there are oak-trees and savage beasts, stags, and wild boars. But if any Grecian city abounds with water, this may certainly be said of Phelloe. It contains, too, temples of Bacchus and Diana: and the statue of the goddess is made of brass, and is represented taking an arrow out of a quiver. But the statue of Bacchus is covered with vermilion. On descending from Ægira to the haven, and again proceeding to some distance from hence, you will see on the right hand a temple of Diana the huntress; which is built, as they report, in the very place in which the goat laid itself down. The Pellenenses are contiguous to the Ægiratæ, and are the last of the Achaians that dwell between Sicyon and the boundaries of Argolis. The name of this city, too, according to the Pellenenses, was derived from Pallas, who is reported to be one of the Titans: but, according to the Argives, from an Argive whose name was Pellen, who was the son of Phorbas, and the grandson of Triopas. But between Ægira and Pellene there is a small city, in subjection to the Sicyonians, and which is called Donussa. This city was demolished by the Sicyonians: and they say, that it is mentioned by Homer, in his catalogue of the forces of Agamemnon, as follows:

> "Where Helice and Hyperesia lie,
> And Gonoëssa's spires salute the sky."

But they add, that the name of this city was changed through ignorance, either by Pisistratus, when he collected into one regular poem the verses of Homer, which were scattered in different places, and mentioned in various writings, or by some one of his associates. The Pellenians, too, have a haven, which they call Aristonautæ, and which is about one hundred and twenty stadia distant from the maritime part of Ægira. But there is about half this distance from the haven to Pellene. They report, that the haven was called Aristonautæ, because those that sailed in the ship Argo drove to this port. The city Pellene is situated on a mountain, whose top rises to a sharp point. However, the steepest part of it is uninhabited: but in the lower part there is a city which is divided into two parts, and each part is situated under the summit of the mountain.

CHAPTER XXVII.

But as you go to Pellene, you will see in the road a statue of Mercury, who is called Dolios, and who is ever ready to accomplish the prayers of men. The figure of this statue is quadrangular, and it has a beard, and a hat on its head. In the same road, and near the city, there is a temple of Minerva, which is raised from the stone produced by the country, and which contains a statue of the goddess of ivory and gold. They say, that this statue was made by Phidias, and this before he made that for the Athenians which is in their tower, or that which is among the Platæenses. The Pelleni, too, assert, that the adytum of Minerva extends to the profundities of the earth: that this adytum is under the basis of the statue; and that a moist vapour ascends from the adytum, which is very serviceable to the ivory of the statue. Above the temple of Minerva there is a grove surrounded with a wall, and which is called the grove of Diana the Saviour. They swear by this goddess in affairs of the greatest moment: but no person except the priests is permitted to enter into this grove. The priests, too, are natives of Pellene, and are most illustrious for their birth. Opposite to this grove there is a temple of Bacchus *Lampter*, i. e. *a shining torch*, or *a lamp*. They celebrate a festival to this divinity which is called Lampteria: and during this festival they bring torches by night into the temple, and place bowls of wine in every part of the city. There is also a temple here of Apollo Theoxenius; and the statue of the divinity is made of brass. They celebrate games called Theoxenia in honour of this god: and silver is proposed as the reward of the conquerors. But the natives are alone permitted to contend.

Near this temple of Apollo there is a temple of Diana:

and the statue of the goddess is in the attitude of one discharging an arrow from a bow. In the forum you may perceive a receptacle of water, which is conducted through secret passages. They use rain water for washing: for below the city there are not many fountains of water for drinking. But that part of the city which contains these fountains they denominate *Sweet.* They have an ancient gymnasium, too, for the exercise of youth: nor is any one admitted as a member of the community, till he has gone through the exercises proper to youth. In this gymnasium there is a statue of the Pellenian Promachus the son of Dryon, who was once victorious in the Olympic, thrice in the Isthmian, and twice in the Nemean pancratium. The Pellenei dedicated a brazen statue of him in Olympia, and one of stone in the gymnasium. They report, too, that this Promachus, in the war between the Pellenei and Corinthians, slew with his own hand many of the enemies; and that he vanquished Polydamas the Scotussæan in the Olympic games, at that time when Polydamas, being restored to his country by the Persian king, came for the second time to contend in Olympia. But the Thessalians will not acknowledge that Polydamas was ever vanquished, and, among other arguments which they urge in confirmation of this opinion, they produce the following elegy upon Polydamas:

"Thee Scotoessa, as his careful nurse,
Polydamas, th' *unconquer'd* champion owns."

The Pellenei, therefore, honour Promachus in the highest degree, and assert, that he was twice victorious in wrestling at Chæronea, and four times in Olympia. They are not, however, as it appears to me, willing to mention his name, because he dissolved the polity in Pellene. For receiving most invidious gifts from Alexander the son of Philip, he rendered him the tyrant of his country.

In Pellene, too, there is a temple of Lucina: and this temple stands in the lesser part of the city. But that which is called Posidion, or the building of Neptune, was formerly a senate-house, but at present is a desolate place. This Posidion is under the gymnasium; and is considered even now as sacred to Neptune. The Mysæum, too, is distant from Pellene about sixty stadia. This building is a temple of Ceres Mysia: and they report, that it was established by one Mysius an Argive, by whom, according to the Argives, Ceres was hospitably entertained. In the Mysæum there is a grove full of all kinds of trees: and it contains fountains of copious water. They celebrate a festival to Ceres here, which lasts seven days. On the third day of the festival, all the men depart from the temple; and the women who are left within it perform in the night those ceremonies which are established by law. Nor are the men alone excluded on this occasion, but all dogs of the male kind. On the following day the men come into the temple, and much laughter and mirth takes place between the men and women. At no great distance from the Mysæum there is a temple of Æsculapius. This temple is called Cyros; and men are cured by the god of disease. There are some fountains here of gently flowing water: and near the greatest of these is the statue of the god. Certain rivers, too, descend from the mountains above Pellene. One of these which flows to Ægira is called Crius, from the Titan of his name. But that which, descending from the mountain Sipylus, flows to Hermus, is called Alsus. And in that part in which the Pellenenses border on the Sicyonians, the last of the Achaic rivers pours itself into the Sicyonian sea.

BOOK VIII.

ARCADICS.

CHAPTER I.

The Tegeatæ and Mantinenses possess that part of Arcadia which is situated towards Argia. These people, and all of an Arcadic name, dwell in the most inland part of Peloponnesus. For the Corinthians are the first people on the Isthmus. The Epidaurians are contiguous to those Corinthians that dwell near the sea: and the Argolic bay, and the maritime parts of Argia, are situated towards Epidaurus, Trœzen, and Hermione. The cities of the Lacedæmonians surround this country; and Messenia borders on these cities; for it descends to the sea as far as to Methone, Pylus, and Cyparissia. But the Sicyonians who dwell near the Corinthian Lechæum are the last inhabitants of this part of Argolis. After Sicyon those Achaians follow that dwell on the shore: and the Eleans inhabit the other extremity of Peloponnesus which is opposite to the Echinades. The boundaries, too, of the Elean land are situated towards Messenia, in that part which contains Olympia, and the mouth of the river Alpheus: but the boundaries of the Dymæi are situated between the Elean and Achaic land. All the people which we have now enumerated belong to the sea: but the Arcadians that dwell in the more inferior parts are on all sides shut out from the sea; on which account, Homer says, that they came to Troy in ships which they received from Agamemnon, and not in their own. The Arcadians assert, that Pelasgus was the first that dwelt in this land; but it is probable, that others dwelt with him, and that he did not reside alone. For over whom did Pelasgus reign? It appears to me, indeed, that Pelasgus excelled in magnitude, strength, and beauty of body; that he likewise surpassed others in the endowments of his mind; and that on this account the people chose him to rule over them. The poet Asius, too, thus speaks concerning him:

> "Black earth on lofty mountains thick with leaves
> Godlike Pelasgus once produced, that thence
> A mercenary nation might arise."

Pelasgus, therefore, when he began to reign, first of all taught men to build cottages, in order to defend themselves from cold, rain, and heat. Besides this, he instructed them in the mode of making garments from the skins of swine, which even at present the poorer sort of inhabitants use in Euboea and Phocis. And as the inhabitants fed on nothing but grass, herbs, and roots, some of which were pernicious, Pelasgus made them relinquish this kind of food, and persuaded them to feed on acorns, though not indiscriminately, but only on those which grew on the beech-tree. This kind of diet, instituted by Pelasgus, continued for so long a space of time, that when the Pythian deity warned the Lacedæmonians not to war on the Arcadians, he addressed them as follows: "There are many men in Arcadia that feed on acorns, who will impede you; but I will not envy you the possession of any thing." They farther report, that in consequence of the reign of Pelasgus, the region came to be called Pelasgia.

CHAPTER II.

But Lycaon the son of Pelasgus invented some things in a wiser manner than his father. For he built the city Lycosura in the mountain Lycæus, called Jupiter Lycæus, and instituted in his honour Lycæan games. It appears to me, that the Panathenaia of the Athenians was not instituted prior to this festival. For the Athenian festival was formerly called Athenaia, but was denominated Panathenaia by Theseus, because he collected the scattered Athenians into one city. With respect to the Olympic games, as they are referred by some to an age prior to that of men (for they say, that Saturn and Jupiter wrestled with each other in these games, and that the Curetes were the first that contended in the Olympic race), on this account their origin is foreign from the present discourse. But it appears to me, that Cecrops reigned over the Athenians, and Lycaon in Arcadia, at the same time; though they were far from being equally wise in divine concerns. For the one first denominated Jupiter *the Supreme*, and was of opinion, that nothing animated ought to be sacrificed to him; in consequence of which, he offered only on the altar of Jupiter those cakes, which the Athenians even at present call *pelanoi*. But Lycaon sacrificed an infant on the altar of Lycæan Jupiter, and made a libation with human blood: on which account they report, that during the sacrifice he was changed into a wolf. The truth of this report, indeed, I can readily admit: for the same thing is asserted by the Arcadians from a very early period, and there is probability in the relation. For at that time men were guests of the gods, and fed at the same tables with them, on account of their justice and piety. Hence, without any delay, and in a very conspicuous manner, the pious were honoured by the gods, and the impious punished.

Afterwards, too, the pious were changed from men into gods: and these are even honoured at present; such as Aristæus, the Cretan Britomartis, Hercules the son of Alcmena, Amphiaraus the son of Oicles, and Castor and Pollux. In consequence, therefore, of this, any one may rationally be persuaded, that Lycaon was changed into a wild beast, and Niobe the daughter of Tantalus into a stone. At present, however, when vice has spread itself through every part of the earth, the divine nature is no longer produced out of the human, or, in other words, men are no longer gods, but are only dignified with the appellation through immoderate flattery; and in consequence of their unjust conduct while living on the earth they experience the wrath of divinity when they depart from hence. Indeed, in all ages, as many things happened in a more early period, which are not found to exist afterwards, they are rendered incredible by means of the multitude, who build falsehood upon truth. For they report, that after Lycaon any one would be changed into a wolf, in consequence of sacrificing in the same manner to Lycæan Jupiter, but that he would not remain so through the whole of his life, if in the tenth year he abstained from human flesh, for then he would be again changed from a wolf into a man; but that if he always continued to feed on human flesh, he would always be a wolf. In a similar manner they assert, that Niobe in Sipylum weeps in summer. I have likewise heard other fabulous relations, as that the skin of griffins is spotted like that of leopards; that the Tritons speak with the human voice; and that they blow a perforated shell. And thus those that are delighted with fabulous reports add something of their own to the marvellous which they possess, and by this means injure truth, through mingling with it falsehood.

CHAPTER III.

But in the third age after Pelasgus this region had a great increase both of cities and inhabitants. For Nyctimus, who was the eldest of Lycaon's sons, had all the power in his hands: but the other sons occupied different parts of the country, and each built a city in that part which pleased him best. Hence Pallas, Orestheus, and Phigalus, built the cities Pallantium, Oresthasium, and Phigalia. And Pallantius, indeed, is mentioned by Stesichorus Himeræus in Jupiter Geryon. But Phigalia and Oresthasia in process of time changed their names. Hence Oresthasia was called Oresteum from Orestes the son of Agamemnon; and Phigalia was denominated Phialia from Phialus the son of Bucolion. But the other sons of Lycaon were Trapezeus, Eleatas, Macareus, Helisson, Acacus, and Thocnus. From this Acacus, too, according to the Arcadians, Homer denominated Mercury. But from Helisson both a city and a river were called Helisson. In a similar manner, Macaria, Dasea, and Trapegus were denominated from the children of Lycaon. Other sons of Lycaon, too, built other cities, viz. Orchomenus built Methydrium, and established the Orchomenii, whom Homer calls rich in cattle. The Melæneæ and Hypsus were established by Hypsus, together with Thyræum, which exists even at present. And in the opinion of the Arcadians Thyræa in the Argolic land, and the bay which is called Thyræates, were denominated from Thyræatas. With respect to the cities Mantinea, Tegea, and Mænalus, these were built by Mænalus, Tegeates, and Mantineus. Cromi was denominated from Cromus. Charisia was built by Charisius; Tricoloni by Tricolonus; Peræthenses by Peræthus; Asæa by Asæates; Lyceatæ by Lyceus; Sumatia by Sumateus; and lastly, two cities were denominated and built by Aliphirus and Heræeus.

But the youngest of his sons, Oenotrus, having received money and men from his brother Nyctimus, passed over with a fleet into Italy: and hence the country in which he settled was called Oenotria, from the name of its king. And this was the first army that left Greece, and became a colony: for neither do I find, after the most diligent search, that any barbarous nations prior to Oenotrus migrated to foreign lands. However, though Lycaon had so great a number of male children, yet he had but one daughter, whose name was Callisto. Jupiter, according to the Greeks, was enamoured, and had connexion with this Callisto; and Juno, on detecting the affair, changed her into a bear, which Diana pierced with her arrows out of regard to Juno. But Jupiter sent Mercury to save the boy that Callisto carried in her womb; and made the mother that constellation which is called the great bear, and which is mentioned by Homer, where he describes the departure of Ulysses from Calypso:

> There view'd the Pleiads and the northern team,
> And great Orion's more refulgent beam;
> To which, around the axle of the sky,
> The bear revolving points his golden eye.

This constellation, however, might be thus denominated in honour of Callisto; since the Arcadians exhibit her sepulchre.

CHAPTER IV.

On the death of Nyctimus, Arcas the son of Callisto reigned. This Arcas taught his people how to make bread from the mild fruit which he had received from Triptolemus, and how to weave garments, which art he had learnt from

Adrista. From this king the land which was before called Pelasgia was denominated Arcadia, and the Pelasgi were called Arcadians. They report, that his wife was not a mortal, but one of the nymphs called Dryades; for the Arcadians call their Naiades Dryades and Epimeliades; and Homer makes particular mention of the nymphs Naiades. But this nymph who associated with Arcas was called Erato: and they report, that Arcas had by her Azan, Aphidas, and Elatus. Prior to his marriage, too, he had a bastard son Autolaus. As soon as his three sons were of age, he divided his kingdom between them. And from Azan, indeed, the part which he governed was called Azania: and they report, that all those that dwelt about the cavern in Phrygia which is called Steunos, and the river Pencala, migrated to this part. Tegea, and the country bordering upon it, fell to the lot of Aphidas. But Elatus obtained the mountain which is now called Cyllene; for then it was without a name. In after times, however, Elatus migrated to that country which is now called Phocis; assisted the Phocenses, who were oppressed by the arms of the Phlegyans; and built the city Elatea. The son of this Azan was Clitor; of Aphidas, Aleus: and Elatus, as they report, had five sons, Æpytus, Pereus, Cyllena, Ischys, Stymphalus. On the death of Azan, games were instituted for the first time; but I am not certain whether any other contest except that of horse-racing was adopted. Clitor, indeed, the son of Azan, dwelt in Lycosura; was the most powerful of all the kings of that time; and built a city, which was called from him Clitora. Aleus possessed that part of the country which was allotted him by his father. With respect to the sons of Elatus, from Cyllen the mountain Cyllene was denominated; and from Stymphalus, both a fountain and a city were denominated Stymphalus. The particulars respecting the death of Ischys, the son of Elatus, I have already related in my account of the Argolic affairs.

As to Pereus, they say that he had no male offspring, but that he had a daughter Neæra, who was married to Autolycus, an inhabitant of the mountain Parnassus. This Autolycus is reported to have been the son of Mercury; but in reality he was the son of Dædalion. As Clitor, too, the son of Azan, had no children, the kingdom of the Arcadians came to Æpytus the son of Elatus. This Æpytus died in consequence of being bit by a small serpent called *seps*, as he was going to hunt. I once saw this serpent: it is very small, has an ashy colour, and is variegated with spots at some distance from each other. Its head, too, is broad, its neck slender, its belly large, and its tail short. This serpent, as well as another which is called *cerastes*, walks like a crab. After Æpytus, Aleus reigned. For Agamedes and Gortys, the sons of Stymphalus, were the fourth descendants from Arcas; and Aleus was the third son of Aphidas. This Aleus built that ancient temple of Minerva Alea in Tegea, and in that place fixed his palace. But Gortys, the son of Stymphalus, built the city Gortyna, near the river which is called from him Gortynius. The male children, too, of Aleus, were Lycurgus, Amphidamas, and Cepheus: and he had a daughter, Auge. With this Auge, according to Hecatæus, Hercules was connected when he came to Tegea. Aleus perceiving that this had been the case, from her being delivered of a boy, shut up her and her son in a chest, and threw them into the sea. The chest was carried to Teuthras, a powerful man in the land by the river Caicus: and he, being allured with the beauty of Auge, married her. At present, indeed, there is a monument of Auge in Pergamus, which is above the city Caicus. This tomb is a heap of earth surrounded with a wall of stone. On the tomb there is a naked woman of brass. After Aleus, Lycurgus, who was his eldest son, reigned. Of him nothing else is reported than that he cut off by stratagem, and unjustly, a warlike man whose name was Arethus.

But he had two sons, Ancæus and Epochus. Of these, Epochus died through disease; but Ancæus, who sailed with Jason to Colchos, and afterwards opposed with Meleager the Calydonian boar, was slain by that savage beast. But Lycurgus arrived at extreme old age, and ended his days after being deprived of both his sons. And after Lycurgus the government of the Arcadians devolved on Echemus, the son of Areopus, the grandson of Cepheus, and the great-grandson of Aleus.

CHAPTER V.

During the reign of Echemus the Achaians vanquished in battle the Dorienses, who made a descent upon Peloponnesus under the command of Hyllus the son of Hercules: and in this battle Echemus having challenged Hyllus to a single combat, slew him. This account, indeed, appears to me much more probable than the one which asserts that at that time Orestes reigned over the Achaians, and that then Hyllus attempted to make a descent upon Peloponnesus. If my account, too, of this affair be admitted, it will be evident that Timandra, the daughter of Tyndareus, was married to Echemus, who slew Hyllus. But Agapenor, the son of Ancæus, and the grandson of Lycurgus, reigning after Echemus, led the Arcadians to the Trojan war; and when Troy was taken, the tempest which dispersed the Greeks on their return home, drove the fleet of the Arcadians from their destined course to Cyprus. Here Agapenor established a colony in the city Paphos, and built in it a temple of Venus; for prior to this the goddess was worshipped by the Cyprians in a place called Golgi. But in after times Laodice, the daughter of Agapenor, sent a veil to Tegea to Minerva Alea. The epigram inscribed on this offering indicates at the same time the origin of Laodice:

Laodice, from Cyprus the divine,
To her paternal, wide-extended land,
This veil an offering to Minerva sent.

Agapenor, however, not returning home from Troy, Hippothous, the son of Cercyon, the grandson of Agamedes, and the great-grandson of Stymphalus, reigned over the Arcadians. During the whole course of the life of this Hippothous, they say nothing illustrious was accomplished by him, except the establishing his kingdom in Trapezus, and not in Tegea. But Æpytus, the son of Hippothous, reigned after his father: and during his reign Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, in compliance with the admonition of the Delphic oracle, migrated from Mycene to Arcadia. This Æpytus had the boldness to enter into the temple of Neptune, in Mantinea, into which both then, and even now, it is unlawful for any man to enter; and for this daring action was first struck blind, and not long after died.

After him his son Cypselus reigned; and during his reign an army of the Dorienses invaded Peloponnesus; not passing through the Corinthian Isthmus, as they had done three ages before, but sailing beyond the promontory which is called Rhion. But Cypselus learnt, by making diligent inquiry, that Cresphontes one of the sons of Aristomachus was not then married; in consequence of which intelligence he gave his daughter to him in marriage, and by this alliance placed both himself and the Arcadians beyond the dread of war. Læas was the son of Cypselus: and he led to Messene Æpytus the son of his sister, and together with him the Heraclidæ from Lacedæmonia and Argos. Bucolion was the son of this Læas, and Phialus of Bucolion, who, depriving Phigalus of the honour of having built the city

Phigalia, called it after his own name Phialia; which name, however, is not generally adopted. But during the reign of Simus, the son of Phialus, the ancient wooden statue of *black Ceres*, which the Phigalenses possessed, was destroyed by fire. This event, therefore, signified, that Simus would die shortly after. After Simus, Pompus reigned: and in his reign the Æginetæ sailed to Cyllene for commercial purposes, and brought to the Arcadians their merchandise in carriages drawn by cattle. For this conduct Pompus greatly honoured them; and called his son Æginetas, through his friendship to the Æginetæ. After Æginetas, his son Polymestor reigned over the Arcadians; and then for the first time the Lacedæmonians and Charillus led an army against the Tegeatæ. These, however, not only the men of Tegea, but the very women, attacked by taking up arms, and both vanquished the Lacedæmonian army, and took Charillus prisoner. But we shall speak more fully about Charillus and his army in our account of the Tegeatæ.

Polymestor dying without children, he was succeeded by Æchmis, who was the son of Briacas the brother of Polymestor; for Briacas was the son of Æginetas, but younger than Polymestor. But during the reign of Æchmis the war between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians took place. The Arcadians had been well disposed towards the Messenians from a very ancient period; and, in consequence of this, at that time they openly fought against the Lacedæmonians with Aristodemus king of the Messenians. Aristocrates, however, the son of Æchmis, perhaps, in other respects behaved insolently towards the Arcadians; but I cannot in this place refrain from mentioning his most impious conduct towards the gods. Between the boundaries of the Orchomenians and Mantinenses there is a temple of Diana Hymnia, who was venerated by all the Arcadians from the most remote antiquity. At that time a virgin officiated as priestess to the goddess: and Aristocrates, who had often attempted to violate the virgin, but without success, at last ravished her as she fled for refuge to the altar of the goddess. As soon, however, as this impious action was publicly known, the Arcadians stoned him to death, and transferred the honour of the priesthood from the virgin to a married woman. Hicetas was the son of this Aristocrates: and another Aristocrates, who resembled his ancestor of the same name in the manner of his death, was the son of Hicetas. For he, too, was stoned to death by the Arcadians, for suffering himself to be bribed by the Lacedæmonians; and it was through his treachery that the Messenians suffered that loss at the Great Moat. It was this unjust conduct, too, that caused the government of the Arcadians to be taken from the house of Cypselus. And thus much which I have related of the Arcadian kings is agreeable to the accounts of the Arcadian genealogists.

CHAPTER VI.

But the most ancient transaction of the Arcadians in common, is their engaging in the war against Troy. The next to this in antiquity is that of assisting the Messenians in their war against the Lacedæmonians. They also partook of the engagement against the Medes in the battle at Platæa. But they assisted the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians more through necessity than inclination. They passed over, too, into Asia with Agesilaus, and were present in the battle at Leuctra. Indeed, that they always suspected the Lacedæmonians, they evinced on other occasions, and particularly after the loss of the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra; for then they immediately joined themselves to the Thebans. But they did not fight in conjunction with the rest of Greece, either against Philip of Macedon at Chæronea, or against Antipater in Thessaly. They did not, however, notwithstanding this, oppose themselves to the Greeks. They say, too, that they did not fight against the Gauls at Thermopylæ, by reason of the Lacedæmonians; for they were afraid that, during the absence of their military force, the Lacedæmonians would plunder their land. But they joined themselves to the assembly of the Achaians the most readily of all the Greeks. And such were the transactions of the Arcadians in general; those of their respective cities we shall relate in their proper places.

From the borders of the Argives there is an entrance to Arcadia, which extends from Hysia along the mountain Parthenius to the Tegeatic land. But there are two other entrances about Mantinea, through Prinus and Climax. The latter of these is broader than the former, and is thus denominated, because formerly steps for descending were made in this entrance. Those that have passed beyond the Climax will arrive at a place called Melangea; from whence water fit for drinking flows into the town for the use of the Mantinenses. On proceeding from Melangea, you will see, at about the distance of seven stadia from the city, a fountain belonging to the Meliastæ, who celebrate the orgies of Bacchus. Near this fountain there is a temple of Bacchus, and a temple of Venus *Melanis*, or *the black*. The goddess is thus denominated for no other reason than because men for the most part have connexion with women in the night, and not like cattle in the day. But the other road is narrower than the Climax, and leads through Artemisium. Of this mountain I have before made mention, and have observed that it contains a temple and statue of Diana, and the fountains of the river Inachus. This river, where it flows through the mountain, is the boundary between the Argives and Mantinenses.

But the water turning out of the road runs through the Argive land; and on this account others as well as Æschylus call Inachus an Argive river.

CHAPTER VII.

On passing from hence to the borders of the Mantinenses through Artemisium, you will arrive at a plain which is denominated, and is in reality, *Argos*, or *sluggish*. For the rain water, which falls into it from the mountains, causes the plain to become thus inert: and unless the water disappeared through a chasm of the earth, nothing would hinder this plain from becoming a lake. But the water which disappears in this part again ascends about Dine. This town Dine is situated about Genethlium in the Argolic land, and abounds with sweet water, which bursts forth through subterranean passages from the sea. The Argives formerly dedicated to Neptune in Dine horses adorned with bridles. But it is evident that sweet water ascends from the sea both in the Argolic land, and in Thesprotia, near that place which is called Chimerion. The fervid water, however, in the river Mæander, which flows partly from a rock which surrounds the river, and partly from the mud of the river, is yet more wonderful. But before Dicæarchia, a Tyrrhene town, the sea contains hot water, and through this they have formed an island, which abounds with hot baths. Among the Mantinenses, too, there is a mountain on the left hand of the plain Argos, in which the ruins remain of the camps of Philip the son of Amyntas, and of a town called Nestane. For Philip is said to have fixed his camps near this place: and they denominate even now the fountain which is near Nestane Philippion, from Philip. But Philip came into Arcadia, that he might separate the Arcadians from the rest of the Greeks, and add them to his own dominions.

Any one, indeed, may be easily persuaded that Philip, by the magnitude of his undertakings, surpassed all the Macedonians prior and posterior to him; but no man of discernment would ever call him a good commander; for he always violated his oaths, acted contrary to his leagues, and dishonoured in the highest degree the faith of mankind. The wrath, however, of divinity was not slow in punishing him for his impious conduct. For Philip was the first we are acquainted with, that by not living longer than forty-six years verified the prediction of the Delphic deity, who, on his consulting about the success of the Persian war, gave this answer: "The bull is decorated with a garland of flowers, the end is arrived, the sacrificer is present." This oracle not long after plainly evinced, that it did not refer to the Persian king, but to Philip. After the death of Philip, Olympias took his little son, whom he had by Cleopatra the grand-daughter of the sister of Attalus, and together with Cleopatra tortured them to death in a brazen vessel surrounded with fire: and some time after this also she cut off Aridæus. The dæmon, therefore, destroyed the race of Cassander, by cutting off the sons which he had by Thessalonica the daughter of Philip. But both Thessalonica and Aridæus were born of Thessalian mothers. As to Alexander and his children, it is well known how they died. Indeed, if Philip had paid any attention to what was said of the Spartan Glaucus, and had retained in his memory this verse upon him,

> "The son his father's piety transcends,"

it appears to me, that he would not have occasioned some god to destroy the vigour of the Macedonians, together with the life of Alexander. But this digression is foreign from the present discourse.

CHAPTER VIII.

After the ruins of Nestane, you will see a holy temple of Ceres, in which the Mantinenses celebrate a festival every year. Under Nestane there is a place called Mæra, and which forms a part of the plain Argos. There is a passage affording an egress from this plain of ten stadia in length. Proceeding to no great distance, too, from hence, you will arrive at another plain, in which there is a fountain near the public road called Arne. The Arcadians give the following reason for its being thus denominated: When Rhea brought forth Neptune, she delivered him concealed in a sheep-cote to be brought up among the lambs. The fountain, therefore, was denominated from the lambs *(arnes)* feeding about it. But the goddess told Saturn that she had brought forth a colt, who swallowed it instead of his son; just as afterwards she gave him a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes to swallow, instead of Jupiter. For my own part, I have observed in the beginning of this work, that these Grecian fables are apparently full of folly: but that I may proceed to the Arcadian affairs, I am of opinion that these fictitious relations originated from the following cause: Such of the Greeks as were formerly reckoned wise, designedly concealed their wisdom in ænigmas; and I conjecture, that what I have just now related concerning Saturn contains something of the wisdom of the Greeks. And we should consider things relative to divine concerns after this manner. But the city of the Mantinenses is distant from the plain I have just mentioned about two stadia at the farthest. Mantineus, indeed, the son of Lycaon, appears to have formerly built a city in another place, which even at present the Arcadians call after his name. But afterwards Antinoe, the daughter of Cepheus the son of Aleus, in consequence of a certain oracle, removed the inhabitants to this place, following a serpent (of what kind they do not mention) as her guide. And on this account, the river which flows through the city at present is called Ophis.

From Homer, indeed, it may be conjectured, that this serpent was a dragon. For in his catalogue of the ships, he informs us, that Philoctetes was left by the Greeks in Lemnos, through a wound which he laboured under; but he does not say, that the hydra by which he was wounded was a serpent. He calls, however, the serpent which an eagle dropped among the Trojans a dragon. It is probable, therefore, that a dragon was the guide of Antinoe. But the Mantinenses did not fight in the borders of the Dipæenses, against the Lacedæmonians, with the other Arcadians: but in the Peloponnesian and Athenian war, they fought with the Eleans for the Athenians against the Lacedæmonians; and, in consequence of their alliance with the Athenians, thus opposed the Lacedæmonians. Through their friendship, too, for the Athenians, they joined them in their expedition to Sicily. But in after times the Lacedæmonians, led by Agesipolis the son of Pausanias, entered the dominions of the Mantinenses in an hostile manner; and Agesipolis being victorious, he shut up the Mantinenses in their walls, and not long after took the city, not indeed by force of arms, but by military craft. For he turned the course of the river Ophis towards the walls: and in consequence of this the walls, which were raised from crude tiles, were dissolved by the water of the river continually dashing against them. For though a wall of this kind stands the shock of warlike engines, and is a better defence than a wall of stone, (for stones are broken in pieces, and leap from their places, through the force of these engines), yet it is dissolved by water, no less than wax by the sun. Agesipolis was not the inventor of this stratagem; but it was employed prior to him by Cimon the son of Miltiades, when he besieged Eion near the river Strymon, Boe the Mede with his Persians defending the city. Agesipolis, therefore, hearing this stratagem of Cimon from the Pellonenses, determined to imitate it in his siege of the Mantinenses.

But as soon as Agesipolis took Mantinea, he left a small part of it to be inhabited, but entirely destroyed the greatest part of the city, and distributed the inhabitants into towns. The Thebans, however, after the battle at Leuctra, again brought back the Mantinenses from the towns into which they were scattered, to their pristine place of residence. But the Mantinenses, on their return, did not act in all respects justly. For finding that the Thebans had sent an ambassador to the Spartans, and that they endeavoured to enter into an alliance with them separately from the other Arcadians, they openly joined themselves to the Spartans through fear of the Thebans; and in the Mantinic battle they assisted the Lacedæmonians against Epaminondas. A difference, however, afterwards taking place, they revolted from these to the Achaians, and vanquished Agis the son of Eudamidas, and king of the Spartans; fighting against him in defence of their own dominions, and calling to their assistance for this purpose the Achaians, and their general Aratus. They likewise took up arms with the Achaians against Cleomenes, and broke the strength of the Lacedæmonians. But they both paid other honours to Antigonus while he was the guardian of Philip, who was the father of Perseus, because he was particularly subservient to the Achaians, and for his sake changed the name of the city Mantinea to Antigonea. In after times, too, the Mantinenses fought in conjunction with the Romans and Augustus, in the naval battle near the promontory of Apollo; while at the same time the rest of Arcadia fought on the side of Anthony; and this, as it appears to me, for no other reason than because the Lacedæmonians were on the side of Augustus. But ten ages after this, the emperor Adrian took from the city its adventitious Macedonian name, and ordered it to be again called Mantinea.

CHAPTER IX.

Among the Mantinenses there is a twofold temple, which is separated nearly about the middle by a wall. In one part of this temple there is a statue of Æsculapius, which was made by Alcamenes; in the other part there is a temple of Latona and her children. Praxiteles made the statues of these in the third age after Alcamenes. In the base of the statues a Muse and Marsyas playing on pipes are represented. In the same place, too, Polybius the son of Lycortas stands on a pillar, of whom we shall make mention hereafter. But the Mantinenses have other temples, one of Jupiter the Saviour, and another of Jupiter *Epidotos*, who is so called because *he bestows things good upon mankind.* They have also a temple of the Dioscuri, and in a different part of the city, of Ceres and Proserpine. In this last they enkindle a fire, which they are careful to keep continually burning. I likewise saw a temple of Juno near the theatre. Praxiteles made the statue of the goddess sitting on a throne, and Minerva and Hebe the daughter of Juno standing by her. Near the altar, too, of Juno there is a tomb of Arcas the son of Callisto. For they say, that the bones of Arcas were brought hither from Mænalus, in consequence of the following Delphic oracle: "Mænalia is a cold region, and there Arcas lies, after whom all the people are denominated. Into this country I order you to direct your steps, and with a joyful mind, to bring Arcas from thence into the lovely city, in which there is a triple, quadruple, and quintuple road. There plant a grove, and sacrifice to Arcas." This place, which contains the tomb of Arcas, they call the altar of the workmen, in order to prevent any one from looking into the ancient temple, or taking away any of the ruins. He ordered the workmen, too, to build the new temple entirely round the old one; but the ancient temple of Neptune is said to have been raised by Agamedes and Trophonius, from pieces of oak aptly joined together: and in order to prevent men from entering into this temple, they did not raise any strong obstacle before the entrance, but only extended before it a linen thread. Perhaps they were contented with this slight impediment, because at that time divine concerns were much honoured, and they considered that the dread of acting improperly would restrain men from entering: or perhaps there was some occult strength in the thread. It appears, indeed, that Æpytus the son of Hippothous, when he found that he was neither able to creep under nor leap over this thread, cut it; and that when he entered the temple, and acted in an impious manner, he was blinded by water bursting on his eyes, and presently after died. According to ancient report, marine water was seen in this temple. The Athenians, too, have a similar relation respecting the water in their tower; and respecting the fountain in the temple of the deity in Mylasa (which is a Carian city), whom they call in their native tongue Ogoa.

This city is distant from the Athenian haven Phaleron about twenty stadia: but the haven of the Myalenses is distant from it about eighty stadia. As the Mantinenses, therefore, are at a great distance from the sea, marine water could not have been brought into their temple without divine assistance. When you have passed beyond the temple of Neptune, you will see a trophy of stone, which the Mantinenses raised in consequence of having conquered the Lacedæmonians and their leader Agis. The manner of this engagement is said to have been as follows: The Mantinenses possessed the right wing of the army, and were composed of men of every age. Their leader, too, was Podares, the great grandson of that Podares who fought against the Thebans. The Elean prophet Thrasybulus, the son of Æneas, and descended from the Iamidæ, was present at this engagement. This man predicted victory to the Mantinenses, and fought himself in their defence. The left wing of the army was composed of all the rest of the Arcadians. Each city, too, had its own leader; and the Megalopolitans had two leaders, Lydiades and Leocydes. In the middle of the army stood Aratus, who was the general of the Sicyonians and Achaians. But the Lacedæmonians and Agis extended their phalanx, that they might face the enemy in every part: and Agis and those that stood round their king were stationed in the centre. Aratus, when the engagement began, in consequence of what he had previously determined on with the Arcadians, fled with his forces, as if he could not sustain the attacks of the Spartans: but he fled in such a manner that his army formed itself into a lunar shape. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, and Agis, hoping to gain the victory, pressed more collectively on Aratus and his forces. Agis, too, was followed by the wings of his army, who considered that they should accomplish a great undertaking, if they overturned Aratus and his troops. But they were ignorant that the Arcadians were attacking them behind; and the Lacedæmonians, in consequence of this, being surrounded on all sides, fell in great numbers, together with their king, Agis the son of Eudamidas.

The Mantinenses report, that in this battle Neptune was seen fighting in their defence: and on this account they have dedicated a trophy to this divinity. That gods, indeed, are accustomed to be present at battles, and at the slaughter of men, is evinced by those who have related the transactions of the heroes in the Trojan war. The Athenians, too, assert in their songs, that they were assisted by gods in the battles of Salamis and Marathon. And it is most evident, that the army of the Gauls was vanquished at Delphos by

Apollo, and perspicuously by dæmons. So that it will follow from hence, that the victory of the Mantinenses was not obtained without the assistance of Neptune. But they say, that Leocydas, who fought for the Megalopolitans in conjunction with Lydiades, was the descendant in the ninth degree of that Arcesilaus, who living in Lycosura saw that stag which is sacred to the goddess Despoine worn out with old age. This stag had a collar on its neck with the following inscription:

Caught young, when Agapenor sail'd for Troy.

By which it is evident, that a stag lives much longer than an elephant.

CHAPTER XI.

After the temple of Neptune, you will arrive at a place full of oaks, and which they call Pelagos: and there is a road through these oaks from Mantinea to Tegea. A round altar, too, in the public road, is the boundary between the Mantinenses and Tegeatæ. But if you are willing to turn from the temple of Neptune to the left hand, after you have proceeded to the distance of about five stadia, you will arrive at the tombs of the daughters of Pelias. The Mantinenses report, that they fled hither in order to avoid the disgrace of their father's death; for as soon as Medea came to Iolcos, she employed herself in contriving how to destroy Pelias; in reality, indeed, acting for the benefit of Jason, but assuming the appearance of his enemy. She therefore told the daughters of Pelias, that, if they were willing, she would take away their father's old age, and restore him to youth. And in order to convince them of her ability to accomplish this, she cut the throat of an old ram, placed it with certain herbs in a kettle, and, by her arts, changed it into a living lamb. After this, she took Pelias, and, having cut him in pieces, threw him into a kettle of boiling water. But his daughters, instead of finding their father restored to youth, found nothing remaining of his body which was even fit to be interred. This circumstance compelled the daughters to retreat to Arcadia; and when they died, sepulchres were raised for them by the Arcadians. But no poet that I am acquainted with has mentioned their names. Micon, however, the painter, writes on their pictures, that their names were Asteropea and Antinoe. At about the distance of twenty stadia from these tombs, there is a place, called Phoezi: and there is a tomb here of the Phoezi, which is surrounded with a wall of no great height. Near this tomb there is a very narrow road, which, they say, contains the sepulchre of Areithous, who was called Corynetas, from the weapon which he used in battle. After this, on proceeding along that road which leads to Pallantium from Mantinea, to the distance of about thirty stadia, you will arrive at a grove, near the public road, which is called the grove of Pelagus. In this place the Athenian and Mantinensian horse fought with the Bœotian horse. And the Mantinenses report, that Epaminondas, who fell in this battle, was slain by Machærion, a Mantinean. But the Lacedæmonians say, that this Machærion was a Spartan: and the Athenians, with whom also the Thebans agree, assert that Epaminondas was slain by Gryllus; the picture in which the Mantinensian battle is represented confirming their opinion.

The Mantinenses, indeed, seem to be of this opinion, who buried Gryllus publicly, and fixed a statue in the very place where he fell, in honour of him, as the best of their associates in war. As to Machærion, though he is spoken of by the Lacedæmonians, yet in reality there never was any such person in Sparta, nor indeed among the Mantinenses, who was ever honoured for his valour. But Epaminondas, as soon as he was wounded, was taken out of the army, yet alive, having one of his hands placed on his wound, and being in great pain. In this condition he viewed the battle from that place which was afterwards denominated *Scope*, or *the place of observation;* till understanding that the battle was at an end on both sides, he removed his hand from the wound, breathed out his soul, and was buried in the place where he died. Over his tomb there is a pillar, with a shield, on which a dragon is carved. But the dragon signifies that Epaminondas descended from those who are called Sparti, because they originated from the teeth of a dragon. There are two pillars on his tomb; one of which is ancient, with a Bœotian inscription; but the other was dedicated by the emperor Adrian, who also added the inscription which is on it. Epaminondas, indeed, may be more justly ranked among the most illustrious Grecian commanders than among those of an inferior rank. For when the ancient dignity of the Lacedæmonian and Athenian cities subsisted in all its splendour, when their generals were renowned, and the bravery of the soldiers corresponded to the reputation of their leaders, Epaminondas rendered the Thebans illustrious, whom he found greatly dispirited, and in subjection to other Grecian cities.

Epaminondas, indeed, had been formerly warned by the Delphic oracle to beware of Pelagus: and on this account he was careful not to sail, either in a three-oared galley, or in any ship of burden. But the admonition of the god referred to the grove Pelagus, and not to the sea. This sameness of name between different places afterwards deceived the Carthaginian Hannibal; and, prior to this, the Athenians. For an oracle was given to Hannibal from the temple of Jupiter Ammon, signifying that when he died he would be buried in the city Libyssa. In consequence of this, he hoped that he should destroy the Roman empire, return to Libya, and die worn out with age. But when Flaminius the Roman general was earnestly employed in endeavouring to take him alive, he came as a suppliant to Prusias king of Bithynia; but being rejected by him, he mounted his horse, and, drawing out his sword, made a wound in his finger. After this, he had not travelled many stadia, before he was thrown into a fever through the wound, and died on the third day after. But the Nicomedenses called the place where he died Libyssa. In like manner the Athenians were ordered by an oracle from Dodona to colonize Sicilia: but not far from their city there is a hill of no great magnitude, which is called Sicilia. The Athenians, therefore, not understanding the meaning of the oracle, led an army beyond the boundaries of their country, and warred on the Syracusans. And many other examples of a similar nature may be easily found.

CHAPTER XII.

At the distance of about one stadium from the tomb of Epaminondas, there is a temple of Jupiter Charmon. In the groves, too, of the Arcadians there are different species of oaks. Of these, one species is remarkable for the breadth of its leaves; the second they call beachen; but the third is so dry, and its bark so light, that they make of it buoys for anchors in the sea, and for nets. Others of the Iones, and Hermesianax the elegiac poet, call this species of oak *phellos* or *cork*. But there is a road from Mantinea to Methydrium which is no longer a city, but a town belonging to the Megalopolitans. After you have proceeded from hence, to the distance of about thirty stadia, you will arrive at a plain called Alcimedon, above which is the mountain Ostracina. In this mountain there is a cavern in which Alcimedon resided, who was one of those that are called heroes. The Phigalians report, that his daughter Phillus was ravished by Hercules; and that as soon as Alcimedon perceived that she was delivered of a child, he exposed her on a mountain, together with the boy she had brought forth, and who is called by the Arcadians Aichmagoras. That the boy crying as he lay on the mountain, a magpie heard and imitated his crying: and that Hercules, who happened to be travelling that way, heard the bird, and in consequence of believing that it was the crying of a child, directed his steps to where the voice came from. Here, knowing both the mother and child, he freed them from their bonds, and thus saved the child. From this event, the neighbouring fountain is called Cissa, or *the magpie.* A place called Petrosaca is about forty stadia distant from this fountain, and is the boundary of the Megalopolitans and Mantinenses. But besides the roads which I have already mentioned, there are two others which lead to Orchomenus. In one of these there is a stadium, which they call Ladas, because Ladas was accustomed to exercise himself here for the race; and near it there is a temple of Diana.

On the right hand, too, of the road there is a lofty pile of earth, which they say is the tomb of Penelope. For the assertion of the Arcadians by no means agrees with the poesy called Thesprotis. For in this it is said, that Penelope, after the return of Ulysses from Troy, brought forth a daughter Ptoliporthe: but according to the Mantinenses, Penelope was reproached by Ulysses for having voluntarily invited the suitors to the palace, and, being banished by him from Ithaca, immediately went to Lacedæmonia; but not long after migrated from thence to Mantinea, where she ended her days. After this tomb, there is a plain of no great extent, and a mountain in the plain, which contains the ruins of ancient Mantinea. This place is called at present Ptolis. On departing from hence, and directing your course towards the north, you will soon arrive at the fountain Alalcomenia. At the distance, too, of thirty stadia from the city, there are ruins of a town called Mæræ, from Mæra, if Mæra was really buried in this place, and not in the country of the Tegeatæ. For the report of the Tegeatæ is more probable than that of the Mantinenses; I mean, that Mæra, the daughter of Atlas, lies buried in their country. Perhaps, too, another Mæra, the descendant of Mæra, the daughter of Atlas, came into the Mantinic land. In the other road which leads to Orchomenus is the mountain Anchisia: and the sepulchre of Anchises is at the foot of this mountain. For when Æneas passed over into Sicily, he drove with his ships to the Laconic land; and there building the cities Aphrodisias and Œetis, he buried there his father Anchises, who came for some particular reason into this country, and ended his days in it: the mountain, therefore, was called from Anchises, Anchisea. This account of the matter is confirmed from hence, that the Æolenses, who at present inhabit Troy, do not any where show the tomb of Anchises. Near the tomb, too, of Anchises there are ruins of a temple of Venus, and the boundaries of the Mantinenses and Orchomenians are in the Anchisian territories.

CHAPTER XIII.

But in the region belonging to the Orchomenians, and on the left hand of the road from the Anchisii, there is a temple of Diana Hymnia, in the shelving part of the mountain. The Mantinenses sacrifice in this temple: and it is a law with them, that a priestess and a priest shall lead a chaste and pure life, not only so far as pertains to venereal congress, but in all other repects, and this as long as they live. They are, besides, prohibited from bathing and eating with the multitude, and from entering into the house of any private person. I know that the same customs are adopted every year, but not always, by those who preside over the sacred rites of Diana Ephesia, and who are called by the citizens *Essenes*, or kings. They, likewise, celebrate yearly festivals in honour of Diana Hymnia. There was formerly a city belonging to the Orchomenians, on the summit of the mountain; in which place the ruins of a forum and walls yet remain. But the city which remains at present, is under the inclosure of the ancient wall. There is a fountain in this city from which they draw water, and which deserves to be inspected. There are, likewise, temples here of Neptune and Venus; and stone statues of these divinities. Near the city, too, there is a wooden statue of Diana, which is inclosed in a large cedar-tree: and the goddess is denominated from the tree *Cedreatis*. Below the city there are tombs formed from stones piled in a heap: these tombs are separated from each other, and were raised in honour of those men that fell in battle. But who the Peloponnesians or Arcadians were, that they fought with, is neither signified by the inscriptions on the tombs, nor known to the Orchomenians.

Opposite to this city is the mountain Trachys; and rain water being received between the mountain and the walls of the city, through an opening of the earth, falls into another plain of the Orchomenians. This plain is of a great extent, but it is mostly a marsh. On proceeding from Orchomenus, at about the distance of three stadia, a road presents itself, which leads in a direct line to the city Caphya, either by the opening I have before-mentioned, or by the marsh on the left hand. When you have crossed the water which runs through the opening, you will see a road under the mountain Trachys: and along this road there is first a sepulchre of Aristocrates, who once ravished the virgin that was the priestess of Diana Hymnia. But after the tomb of Aristocrates are the fountains Teneæ: and Amilus, which they say was once a city, is seven stadia distant from these fountains. Near this place the road is again bisected; and one part of it leads to Stymphalus, and the other to Pheneos. As you proceed to Pheneos a mountain will present itself to your view; and in this mountain the boundaries of the Orchomenians, Pheneatæ, and Caphyatæ are conjoined. Above the boundaries there is a steep precipice, which they call Caphyatice. After the boundaries there is a valley under the cities, which we have just mentioned; and there is a road through it to Pheneos. In the middle of this valley there is a fountain; and towards its extremity the town Caryæ.

CHAPTER XIV.

But the plain of the Pheneatæ lies under Caryæ; and they say, that the ancient Pheneos was once destroyed through the inundation of water in this plain. At present, indeed, there are marks of this deluge on the mountains, upon which, they say, the water ascended. The mountains, too, Orexis, and Sciathis, are five stadia distant from Caryæ. At the bottom of each mountain there is a deep chasm, which receives the water from the plain. The Pheneatæ report that these profundities were made by Hercules, and with his own hands, when he dwelt in Pheneos with Laonome, the mother of Amphitryon. For they say, that Amphitryon was the offspring of Alcæus from Laonome the daughter of Guneus, and not from Lysidice the daughter of Pelops. If this account, indeed, of Hercules be true, I mean that Hercules migrated to the Pheneatæ, it may easily be believed, that being driven from Tiryntha by Eurystheus, he did not go immediately to Thebes, but came first of all to Pheneos. And Hercules, indeed, brought this chasm through the middle of the plain belonging to the Pheneatæ, that the river Olbius, which some of the Arcadians call Araonius, might flow through it. This chasm is fifty stadia in length; but its profundity, where the banks are entire, is not less than thirty feet. But the river does not at present fall into this chasm, but flows in its ancient channel. On proceeding to the distance of about fifty stadia from the chasms under the mountains, you will arrive at the city Pheneos, which was built, according to the Pheneatæ, by Pheneus, one of their countrymen. They have a tower on all sides steep, which is partly defended by the nature of the place, and partly by the assistance of art. In this tower there was a temple of Minerva, who is called Tritonia; but at present the ruins of it only remain. There is a brazen statue, too, in it of equestrian Neptune, which they say was dedicated by Ulysses. For Ulysses having lost his horses, and wandered over all Greece in order to find them, built a temple of Diana in the place where he found them, called the goddess Eurippa, and dedicated a statue of equestrian Neptune. They farther add, that when he had found his horses, he suffered them to feed in the land of the Pheneatæ, just as he did his oxen in the continent opposite to Ithaca.

To me, indeed, the letters inscribed on the basis of the statue of Ulysses evince the mandate which was given to those that fed the horses. And in all other respects I can assent to what the Pheneatæ report; but I cannot believe that a brazen statue was dedicated by Ulysses, because in those times they did not know how to make statues of solid brass, but fabricated them from laminæ placed one over another, similar to the manner in which a garment is wove. But how they used to work in brass I have already shown in my account of the Spartan affairs, and in that place where I mentioned the statue of Jupiter the supreme. Rhœcus, the son of Philæus, and Theodorus the son of Telecles, both Samians, first taught how to cast brass, and melt it into statues: and the seal made of an emerald, with which Polycrates the Samian tyrant was particularly delighted, was made by this Theodorus. On descending from the tower of the Pheneatæ, you will arrive at a stadium and a hill, on which there is a sepulchre of Iphicles, the brother of Hercules, and father of Iolaus. The Greeks assert, that this Iolaus was the companion of Hercules in many of his labours. But Iphicles the father of Iolaus, being wounded in the first battle of Hercules against Augeas king of the Eleans by the sons of Actor, who were called Molionidæ from their mother Molione, was brought by his kindred to Pheneos. Here one of the inhabitants, Buphagus, and his wife Promne, paid him great attention, and, when he died of his wound, buried him. Indeed, even at present they perform funeral sacrifices to Iphicles as to a hero.

But the Pheneatæ reverence Mercury above all the gods, and celebrate Hermaic games. They have a temple, too, of Mercury, in which there is a stone statue, the work of the Athenian Euchir, the son of Eubulidas. Behind this temple is the tomb of Myrtilus, who, according to the Greeks, was the son of Mercury, and the charioteer of Oenomaus. They report, too, that when any one of the suitors of the daughter of Oenomaus contended for her possession, Myrtilus used to drive the chariot with so much art, that Oenomaus could pierce the suitor with his spear. And lastly, they say, that Myrtilus himself fell in love with Hippodamia; that not daring to try his fortune in the race, he acted the part of charioteer to Oenomaus; and that he at length betrayed Oenomaus, after he had compelled Pelops to promise by an oath, that he would let him sleep with Hippodamia for one night. However, Pelops, when Myrtilus reminded him of his oath, threw him out of a ship, into the sea: and the Pheneatæ are said to have buried his body, which was thrown upon their land by the waves. Indeed, the Pheneatæ every year perform funeral rites to Myrtilus. But it is evident, that Pelops did not sail far; but only from the mouth of Alpheus to the haven of the Eleans. Hence, the sea called Myrtoon was not denominated from Myrtilus, the son of Mercury, since this sea commencing from Eubœa extends as far as to the desert island Helene, which is in the Ægean sea. It appears, therefore, to me, that the account of the Eubœensian antiquaries is more probable, who say that this sea was denominated from a woman whose name was Myrto. Among the Pheneatæ, too, there is a temple of Ceres Eleusinia; and they perform the same mystic ceremonies in this temple as are performed at Eleusis, and say, that they instituted these ceremonies. For they report, that one Naus came to them in consequence of a Delphic oracle; and that this Naus was the great grandson of Eumolpus.

CHAPTER XV.

Near this temple there are two great stones aptly joined together, which they call Petroma. When those anniversary sacred rites take place, which they call the greater mysteries, they separate these stones, and take out of them writings belonging to the mysteries. When the persons that are concerned in the mysteries have heard these writings recited, they are at night restored to the place from whence they were taken. I know, too, that the greater part of the Pheneatæ swear upon these stones. This Petroma has a round coverlid, within which there is an effigies of Ceres Cidaria. With this effigies the priest invests himself in the greater mysteries, and strikes the infernal powers with rods, after a certain particular manner. The Pheneatæ, too, report, that Ceres came wandering into their country before Naus, and that she gave to those that liberally received her all kinds of leguminous plants except beans: but why they consider beans as impure, belongs to their arcane narrations. But those, as the Pheneatæ report, who kindly received the goddess, who built a temple to her under the mountain Cyllene, and who instituted her mysteries, which they now celebrate, were Trisaules and Damithales. This temple of Ceres, who is called *Thesmia*, is about fifteen stadia distant from the city. But as you go from Pheneos to Pellene, and Ægira, after having travelled to the distance of about fifteen stadia, you will arrive at a temple of Pythian Apollo. At present, however, nothing but the ruins of it remain, and a large altar of white stone. Upon this altar the Pheneatæ even now sacrifice to Apollo and Diana: and they report, that Hercules dedicated this temple when he took Elis. There are monuments, too, here of those heroes who were the associates of Hercules in this battle, and died fighting. Of these, Telamon is buried very near the river Aroanius, and at a small distance from the temple of Apollo: but Chalcodon is interred not far from the fountain Oenoe.

Let no one, however, deceive himself, by supposing that this Chalcodon was the father of Elephenor, who sailed with a fleet to Troy; or, that this Telamon was the father of Ajax and Teucer. For how could Chalcodon follow Hercules in this war, when prior to this he was slain by Amphitryon? And this is evinced, and deserves to be credited, from the Theban monuments. Or, why should Teucer build the city Salamis in Cyprus, when no one hindered him from returning home from Troy? And who but Telamon could prevent him from returning? It is evident, therefore, that those who assisted Hercules against the Eleans, were different from the Euboic Chalcodon, and Telamon Æginetes.

But both at present, and in all ages, obscure men have had the same names with such as have been illustrious. One boundary, however, only does not separate the Pheneatæ from the neighbouring Achaians: for towards Pellene is the river Porinas, and towards Ægiratis, Dianium. But in the country of the Pheneatæ, after you have proceeded to no great distance from the temple of Pythian Apollo, you will enter into a road which leads to the mountain Crathis. In this mountain the fountains of the river Crathis are contained. This river flows into the sea through Ægæ, which is at present a desolate place, but was formerly an Achaian city. From this river the Italian river Crathis in Brutii is denominated. But in the mountain Crathis there is a temple of Pryonian Diana, from which in former times the Argives brought fire to Lerna.

CHAPTER XVI.

On proceeding from Pheneos towards the east, you will see the summits of the mountain Geronteus, and a road near the mountain. This mountain is the boundary of the Pheneatæ and Stymphalians. But on the left hand of it, as you go through the Pheneatic land, you will see those boundaries of the Pheneatæ, which they call Tricrena, from the three fountains which are contained in these parts. The Nymphs, the inhabitants of the mountain, are said to have washed Mercury, as soon as he was born, in the water of these fountains: and on this account the inhabitants consider these fountains as sacred to Mercury. Not far from Tricrena, there is another mountain called Sepia, in which they say Æpytus, the son of Elatus, died from the bite of a serpent, and in which he was buried, because they were not able to carry his dead body any farther. The Arcadians report, that even at present serpents of the same kind are produced in this mountain, but that there are not many of them, and that they are rarely to be seen. For as the mountain is covered with snow for a great part of the year, they either die through the snow in the open air, or, if they hide themselves in their places of retreat, they are destroyed by cold. I viewed, too, with great attention the tomb of Æpytus, because it is mentioned by Homer in his verses respecting the Arcadians. This tomb is a mass of earth of no great magnitude, and is surrounded with a wall of stone. But it was deservedly admired by Homer, because he had never beheld a more illustrious sepulchre. It is thus that he compares the dance fabricated by Vulcan in the shield of Achilles, to the dance of Ariadne, made by Dædalus, because he had never beheld a more exquisite piece of art. Indeed, I know many sepulchres worthy of admiration; but in this place I shall only mention two, one of which is in Halicarnassus, and the other in the land of the Hebrews. The former of these was raised for Mausolus, who reigned in Halicarnassus: and its magnitude is so prodigious, and its ornaments so magnificent, that the Romans in consequence of the great admiration which it produced in them, call all their illustrious sepulchres Mausolea. But the latter belonging to the Jews was raised in honour of Helene, a woman that dwelt in Solymæ, which was destroyed even to its foundation by one of the Roman emperors. There is a door in this tomb which is made of marble, as well as the other parts of the tomb. This on a stated day and hour every year is opened by some secret artifice, and soon after shut again. But if you attempt to open it at any other time, you cannot succeed without violence and breaking the door.

CHAPTER XVII.

After the sepulchre of Æpytus you will arrive at Cyllene, which is the most lofty of all the mountains in Arcadia. On its summit there is a temple of Mercury Cyllenius, but it is in a ruinous condition. It is, however, evident, that both the mountain and the god were denominated from Cyllenas the son of Elatus. Formerly, too, as far as I have been able to learn, men used to form the statues of the gods from no other materials than ebony, the cypress-tree, cedar, the oak, the yew, and the lote-tree. But the statue of Mercury Cyllenius, is made from the citron-tree; and is, as I conjecture, about eight feet in altitude. The mountain Cyllene, too, which is an admirable circumstance, abounds with white black-birds. For the birds which are called black-birds by comic writers, are of a different kind, and do not sing. I have seen besides in Sipylum, near the lake of Tantalus, as it is called, eagles which they denominate Cycniæ, and which in their whiteness resemble swans. Private persons, too, at present possess white boars, and white Thracian bears. The Libyans have white hares; and I saw with admiration white stags at Rome, but did not think to inquire whether they came from very inland places, or from islands. The above relations were made by me, in order to produce belief in what I have said of the Cyllenian black-birds. Another mountain which is called Chelydorea, is near to the mountain Cyllene: and Mercury is said to have found in it a tortoise, and to have made a lyre of its shell. In this part the boundaries between the Pheneatæ and Pellenenses are contained: and the greatest part of the mountain Chelydorea is possessed by the Achaians. But on proceeding from Pheneos towards the west, you will see on the left hand a road which leads to the city Clitor; but on the right hand, a road which leads to Nonacris and the water of Styx. Formerly Nonacris was a small Arcadian city, and was denominated from the daughter of Lycaon. But at present nothing more than the ruins of it remain: and most of these are no longer to be distinguished. Not far from these ruins there is a steep precipice, which surpasses in altitude any thing I ever saw: and water trickles down it, which the Greeks call the water of Styx.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Hesiod, indeed, in his Theogony, makes mention of Styx: for there are some who consider Hesiod as the author of this piece. In the Theogony, therefore, he says, that Styx is the daughter of Ocean, and the wife of Pallas. They report that the poet Linus, too, says nearly the same of Styx in his verses. It appears to me, however, after the most accurate perusal of these poems, that they are adulterated. But the Cretan Epimenides says, indeed, that Styx is the daughter of Ocean: but instead of making her the wife of Pallas, he says, that from Piras (whoever he was) she brought forth Echidna. Homer, too, particularly mentions Styx in his Iliad: for in that part where he relates the oath of Juno, he represents the goddess thus speaking:

> "Let earth, the wide-expanded, lofty heav'n,
> And Styx, whose waters glide beneath, know this."

In these verses he seems to have had an eye to the trickling water of Styx, which we have just mentioned. But in the catalogue of those that followed Guneus, he says, that the water of the river Titaresius flows from Styx. And lastly, he says that Styx is in Hades, in that part of the Iliad where he represents Minerva reproaching Jupiter, as not remembering that it was through her Hercules was not destroyed by the labours imposed on him by Eurystheus:

> "Oh, had my wisdom this event foreseen,
> When to dire Pluto's solid gates he went,
> To drag from Erebus the triple dog,
> He had not then, by me preserved, escaped
> The dangerous waters of deep-flowing Styx."

But the water which trickles from the precipice near Nonacris, falls first of all upon a lofty rock: and from thence, passing through the rock, it falls into the river Crathis. It is said, that this water is destructive both to men and animals of every kind. In after-times, indeed, it was found that goats perished through drinking of this water.

The following also is a wonderful circumstance respecting this water. Crystal and porphyry vessels, and indeed all vessels made of stone or earth, are broken by the water of Styx. Vessels, too, of horn and bone; likewise brass, lead, pewter, silver, and amber, are dissolved by this water. Even gold is not able to resist its dissolving quality; though the Lesbian poetess asserts, and gold itself evinces, that it is incapable of being defiled by rust. Divinity, however, confers on more abject substances a power superior to what those possess which are the most esteemed by men. Thus pearls are dissolved by vinegar: and the blood of a goat liquefies a diamond, which is the hardest of all stones. In like manner the water of Styx is not able to vanquish the hoof of a horse; for when thrown into this water it remains undivided. Whether or not Alexander the son of Philip died through this poison, I am not perfectly certain. Above Nonacris there are mountains which are called Aroania; and in them there is a cavern, into which the daughters of Proetus are said to have fled through insanity; and who were taken from thence, and brought to the place called Lusi by Melampus, who employed for this purpose arcane sacrifices and purifications. A great part of these mountains is inhabited by the Pheneatæ; for Lusi is within the boundaries of the Clitorii, and is said to have been formerly a city. Agesilaus, indeed, the Lusian, was proclaimed victor with the vaulting horse, when the Amphictyons instituted the first Pythian games after the tenth. But at present even the ruins of Lusi do not remain. Melampus, however, brought the daughters of Proetus to Lusi, and liberated them from their insanity in the temple of Diana: and from that circumstance the Clitorii call this Diana *Hemeresia*, or *the mild.*

CHAPTER XIX.

But there are certain persons of an Arcadian origin, who are called Cynæthaenses, and who dedicated in Olympia a statue of Jupiter, holding thunder in each of its hands. These people dwell at about the distance of forty stadia from the temple of Diana. In their forum there are altars of the gods, and a statue of the emperor Adrian. But the temple of Bacchus, which these people possess, deserves particular notice. In this temple they every year celebrate a festival in the winter season. Certain persons during this festival are anointed with fat, and carry on their shoulders a bull to the temple, chosen out of the herd, and which the god himself inspires them to select. At about the distance of two stadia from this town there is a fountain of cold water, and above the fountain a plane-tree. If any person happens to be bit by a dog, or is wounded, or injured by any other means, he is cured by drinking of this water: and on this account they call the fountain *Alysson*, alluding to its curing canine insanity. And thus it appears, that the water called Styx is noxious to the Arcadians, in the borders of the Pheneatæ; and that the fountain belonging to the Cynæthaenses is beneficial, and an antidote as it were to the noxious qualities of Styx. But of the roads which lead from Pheneos to the west, and which are on the left hand, one leads to Clitor, and extends as far as to that work of Hercules which renders the river Aroanius a lasting stream. Near this river there is a road which leads to a place called Lycuria, and which forms the boundaries between the Clitorii and Pheneatæ.

CHAPTER XX.

On proceeding from hence to the distance of fifty stadia, you will arrive at the fountain Ladon. I have heard, indeed, that the water which forms a lake in the Pheneatic land, after descending into the profundities of the neighbouring mountains, ascends in this place, and makes the fountains of Ladon. But whether or not this is the case, I am not able clearly to determine. The river Ladon, however, affords a water the most excellent of all the rivers in Greece. It is also celebrated on another account, I mean for the sake of Daphne, and what is sung by poets respecting her. I shall, indeed, pass over in silence what the Syrians, who dwell on the mountain Orontes, affirm respecting Daphne: for the following different account is given of her by the Arcadians and Eleans. They say, then, that Leucippus was the son of Oenomaus king of Pisa; that this Leucippus was enamoured of Daphne; and that considering he should never be able to obtain her for his wife, by demanding her in marriage openly, because she avoided all connexion with the male species, he employed the following stratagem:—He took care to increase the length of his hair, and plaiting it after the manner of a virgin, he went to Daphne in a female garb, and pretended that he was the daughter of Oenomaus, and that he desired to be her associate in hunting. Daphne, therefore, believing him to be a virgin from his appearance, and perceiving that he surpassed all his companions both in the nobility of his birth, and his skill in hunting, and that he was particularly attached to her, conceived a strong friendship for him. But those that celebrate the love of Apollo towards Daphne say, in addition to the above, that Apollo envying the felicity of Leucippus in his love, caused Daphne with her train of virgins to bathe in the river Ladon, and Leucippus to be led thither against his will. Here, as soon as his clothes were taken off, and it was perceived that he was no virgin, the companions of Daphne slew him, by piercing him with their daggers and darts.

CHAPTER XXI.

At the distance of about sixty stadia from the fountains of Ladon is the city of the Clitorians. But the road which leads from the fountains of Ladon, towards the river Aroanius, is narrow; and the river Clitor flows near the town of the Clitorians. This river pours itself into Aroanius, at no greater distance than seven stadia from the city. There are other fishes in the Aroanius, besides those which are called *various*. They say that these fishes emit sounds similar to those of a thrush. I have seen these fishes, indeed, taken, but I never heard any sound proceed from them, though I staid near the river till sun-set, at which time these fishes are said to be particularly vocal. But this city of the Clitorians was denominated from the son of Azan. It is situated, too, in a plain, and is surrounded with mountains of no great altitude. The most illustrious of its temples are those of Ceres, Æsculapius, and Lucina. Homer, indeed, mentions many Lucinas, and introduces them without any limited number. But Lycius Olen, who was more ancient than Homer, and who was a Delian, composed hymns to other divinities, and one to Lucina, whom he calls *Eülinon*, or *the spinner;* evincing by this that she is the same with *Pepromene*, or *Fate;* and that she is more ancient than Saturn. The Clitorians, too, have a temple of the Dioscuri, whom they call *mighty gods*. This temple is about four stadia distant from the city, and contains brazen statues of the Dioscuri. But on the summit of a mountain, which is thirty stadia distant from the city, there are a temple and statue of Minerva Coria.

CHAPTER XXII.

But the order of my discourse requires that I should return to Stymphalus, and to a mountain of the Pheneatæ and Stymphalians, which is called Geronteum. The Stymphalians, indeed, do not at present belong to the Arcadians, but to the Argolic dominions, to which they voluntarily transferred themselves. That they are, however, of an Arcadian origin, is evinced by Homer; and Stymphalus, who built their city, was the grandson of Arcas the son of Callisto. They affirm, too, that the city at first did not stand in the same place as at present: and that in ancient Stymphalus, Temenus the son of Pelasgus dwelt, by whom Juno was educated, and who dedicated three temples to the triple name of the goddess. For while she was a virgin he called her *Pais*, or *a girl;* when she was married to Jupiter, *Teleia*, or *perfect;* and when she was divorced from Jupiter, and returned to Stymphalus, *Chera*, or *desolate*. And such are the reports of the Stymphalians respecting Juno; but the present city contains none of the aforesaid particulars. In the present city, however, there is a fountain, from which the emperor Adrian brought water into the city of the Corinthians. But in Stymphalus there is a fountain, which in winter becomes a lake of no great magnitude; and the river Stymphalus is formed from this lake. But in summer the lake is dried up, and the river flows from the fountain. After this it falls into a chasm of the earth, and rising again in the Argolic land, it changes its name, and is called Erasinus, instead of Stymphalus. It is said that birds which fed on human flesh were produced near this river, and that Hercules pierced them with his arrows. But Pisander Camirensis does not say that these birds were slain by Hercules, but that he drove them from this place by the sound of a cymbal. The deserts of Arabia, indeed, besides other wild animals which they produce, contain the birds called Stymphalides, which are in no respect more mild than lions and leopards; as they fly on the fowlers that come to catch them, and wound and destroy them with their beaks.

Indeed these birds will even wound men that are defended with brass or iron: but if you wrap yourself in the bark of a certain tree, the beaks of the Stymphalides will be held so fast in the garment of bark, that they will be as unable to escape as little birds whose wings are detained by birdlime. These Stymphalides are as large as cranes; but their form resembles that of the ibis. Their beaks, however, are stronger, and not crooked like the beak of the ibis. But whether or not there ever were in Arcadia birds of the same name, though not of the same form with those which are at present found in Arabia, I am not certain. If, indeed, the Stymphalides always have been like hawks and eagles, then it appears to me that these birds are natives of Arabia; and it is very possible that some of them may have flown into Arcadia to the river Stymphalus. And if this be admitted, they might at first have been called by the Arabians by a different name, and not Stymphalides: but the renown of Hercules, and the superior reputation of the Greeks to that of the Barbarians, may have been the reason that the birds which are produced in the deserts of Arabia are to this day called Stymphalides. In Stymphalus, too, there is an ancient temple of Diana Stymphalia: but the statue of the goddess is made of wood, and is, for the most part, gilt. Near the roof of this temple the birds called Stymphalides are represented; but it is not easy to know clearly whether they are made of wood or plaster. I should rather, for my own part, conjecture that they are made of wood. In the back part of the temple, too, there are statues made of white stone, of virgins with the legs of birds. The following prodigy is said to have happened in my time in this temple: The festival of Stymphalian Diana was celebrated in Stymphalus in a careless manner, and many things pertaining to this festival were omitted. In consequence of this, mud fell in such abundance into the mouth of that cavern under which the river Stymphalus flows, that the water was excluded a passage, and four hundred stadia of the plain became a lake. They farther add, that a hunter happening to pursue a stag, the animal threw itself into the mud of the lake, and the hunter plunged in after it, and continued his pursuit, till the same chasm swallowed up both the stag and the hunter. But some time after, this stagnant water followed the course of the river, and the marsh was totally dried up in the space of one day. After this event, the festival of Diana was celebrated with greater earnestness and care.

CHAPTER XXIII.

AFTER Stymphalus, Alea succeeds, which also partook of the Argolic assembly. They say, that Aleus the son of Aphidas built this city. It contains temples of Diana Ephesia, of Minerva Alea, and of Bacchus, in which last there is a statue. They every year, too, celebrate a festival to Bacchus, and scourge women in this festival, in consequence of a Delphic oracle, in the same manner as the Spartan youth are scourged at the altar of Orthian Diana. We have shown in our account of the Orchomenian affairs, that there is a road near the chasm; and that on the left hand of this road there is a lake. But in the plain of the Caphyenses there is a heap of earth piled up, through which the water from the Orchomenians is prevented from injuring the fertile fields of the Caphyenses. Within this mass of earth other water flows, which in quantity is equal to that of a river; but, being received into a chasm of the earth, bursts forth again near those streams which are called Nasi. The place where this water ascends is called Rheunus. Gliding away from hence, it forms the perpetual river Tragus. It is evident that the name of this town was derived from Cepheus, the son of Aleus: but it came at length to be called in the Arcadian tongue, Caphyæ. The Caphyenses, too, affirm, that they originated from the Attic land, but that they were expelled from thence by Ægeus; and that flying as suppliants to Cepheus, they were permitted by him to fix their residence in this place. The small city is situated in the extremity of a plain, and at the foot of mountains of no great altitude. It contains temples of Neptune and Diana Cnacalesia. For they have a mountain called Cnacalus, in which they perform every year sacred mysteries to Diana. A little above the city there is a fountain, and over the fountain a large and beautiful plane-tree, which they call Menelais. If, indeed, in conformity to what the Greeks assert, it were requisite to enumerate such trees as yet remain, and are in a flourishing condition, the most ancient of all is the willow or hemp-tree in the temple of Juno among the Samians. The next to this in antiquity is the oak in Dodona; then the olive in the tower of Athens, and that which the

Delians possess. But the Syrians consider the laurel as the third in antiquity. This plane-tree, however, is the most ancient of all trees.

At the distance of about one stadium from Caphyæ is a place called Condyleæ; in which there are a grove and temple of Diana, who was formerly called Condyleatis. They say, that the name of the goddess came to be changed on the following account: Some boys once happening to play about the temple (the number of them is not mentioned), took hold of a rope which they found tied round the neck of the statue of Diana, and said they would strangle the goddess. But the Caphyenses, understanding what the boys had done, stoned them to death. They were punished, however, for this action: for women with child were infected with a disease, which caused them to be delivered of dead children; and no remedy could be found for the evil, till they were ordered by an oracle to bury the murdered boys, and perform funeral sacrifices to them every year, because they were unjustly put to death. The Caphyenses, too, even at present observe the mandate of the oracle, and call Diana in Condyleæ (for this also was enjoined them by the oracle) Apanchomene, from this circumstance. On departing from Caphyæ, at about the distance of seven stadia, you will descend into a place, which, as I have before observed, is called Nasi. And at the distance of fifty stadia from hence, you will arrive at the river Ladon. Passing over this river, a grove of oaks will present itself to your view, which is called Soron; and the road to which lies through Argeathæ, Lycuntes, and Scotane. Soron, too, leads to Psophis. This grove of oaks, as well as other Arcadian woods, abounds with boars, bears, and tortoises, of the largest size; from which last lyres might be formed equal to those which are made from the Indian tortoise. Near the extremity, too, of Soron are the ruins of the town Paus: and farther on, though at no great distance, there is a place called Siræ, which forms the boundary between the Clitorians and Psophidians.

CHAPTER XXIV.

According to some, Psophis the son of Archon was the builder of Psophis; and he derived his origin in a continued series from Erymanthus, Aristas, Parthaon, Periphetes, and Nyctimus. There are others again who say that the city was founded by a Psophis who was the daughter of Xanthus, the grand-daughter of Erymanthus, and the great grand-daughter of Arcas. And such are the particulars which the Arcadians relate of their kings. But the truest of these reports is this, that Psophis was the daughter of Eryx, who reigned in Sicania. Her father not thinking it proper to take her mother home after he had been connected with her, left her when she was with child at the house of Lycortas, in the city Phegia, which, prior to the reign of Phegeus, was called Erymanthus. Here the daughter of which she was delivered was educated; and Echephron and Promachus, who were the offspring of this Sicanian woman by Hercules, called the city Phegia Psophis, after the name of her mother. The tower, too, of the Zacynthians is called Psophis, because Zacynthus, a Psophidian, and the son of Dardanus, was the first person that passed over with a fleet into that island, Psophis is about thirty stadia distant from Sirææ. Near it flows the river Aroanius, and at a small distance from the city the river Erymanthus. The fountains of Erymanthus are in the mountain Lampea, which is said to be sacred to Pan: and perhaps Lampea is a part of the mountain Erymanthus. According to Homer, there used to be hunting both in Taygetus and Erymanthus. From Lampea the river Erymanthus flows through Arcadia, having on its right hand the mountain Pholoe, and on its left the country Thelpusa, and last of all pours itself into the Alpheus.

It is also said that Hercules, in consequence of the mandate of Eurystheus, slew the boar in Erymanthus which was so remarkable for its magnitude and strength. The Cumæi among the Opici assert, that they have the teeth of the Erymanthean boar suspended in a temple of Apollo: but there is not the least probability in their assertion. The Psophidians have within their city a temple of Venus Erycina, of which the ruins only remain at present. They report that Psophis the daughter of Eryx dedicated this temple; and the assertion is probable. For in Sicily there is a temple of Venus Erycina, in the vicinity of the mountain Eryx: and this temple is both most holy from its antiquity, and not less wealthy than the temple in Paphos. At present, too, the heroic sepulchres of Promachus and Echephron, the sons of Psophis, remain; but they are not remarkable for the excellence of their structure. Alcmæon likewise, the son of Amphiaraus, lies buried in Psophis; but his sepulchre is neither remarkable for its magnitude nor ornaments. This tomb is surrounded with cypress-trees, which are so lofty that a mountain which is near Psophis is darkened by their leaves. They are not willing to cut down these trees, because they consider them as sacred to Alcmæon: and they are called by the natives *Virgins*. But Alcmæon, when he fled from Argos, after having slain his mother, came to Psophis, which was then called Phegia from Phegeus. Here he married Alphesibœa, the daughter of Phegeus, to whom he gave various gifts (as it was likely he should), and among the rest a necklace.

But when he had taken up his residence among the Arcadians, finding that his disease of insanity was not mitigated, he fled to the oracle at Delphos. Here the Pythian deity ordered him to migrate to that land which was the most recent of all others, and which the sea had exhibited, after he became defiled with the blood of his mother Eriphyle. The oracle added, that the dæmon who revenged his mother's death would not then pursue him any farther. Alcmæon, therefore, having found that land which was formed from the overflowing of Achelous, fixed his residence there, and married Callirhoe, who, according to the Acarnanes, was the daughter of Achelous. By her he had two sons, Acarnan and Amphoterus. They say, too, that the inhabitants in this continent were denominated from Acarnan; for prior to this they were called Curetes. Many men, indeed, are found to give way to foolish desires; but the insane desires of women are much more vehement. Callirhoe desired to possess the necklace of Eriphyle, and in order to obtain it sent Alcmæon, though he was unwilling to take the journey, to Phegia, where falling into the snares of Temenus and Axion, the sons of Phegeus, he lost his life. But the sons of Phegeus are said to have dedicated the necklace to Apollo at Delphos. The Psophidii, too, affirm, that the Greeks marched against Troy while the city was yet called Phegia, and possessed its own kings; but that they did not partake of this expedition on account of the enmity which subsisted between their kings and the Argive leaders; for many of them were allied to Alcmæon, and joined themselves to the army which he led against Thebes.

But that the islands called the Echinades, do not at present join to the continent, is owing to the Ætolians: for being driven from their proper places of abode, the country became entirely desolate. The river Achelous, therefore, in consequence of Ætolia remaining unprolific, did no longer deposit its mud in the Echinades as it used to do. What I now assert is confirmed from hence: The river Mæander, flowing through the cultivated lands of the Phrygians and Cares, makes in a very short time a continent of the sea between Priene and Miletus. The Psophidii, too, have a temple near Erymanthus, of the river Erymanthus, and in it a statue. In this temple, besides the Egyptian Nile, there are images of white stone of other rivers: but it is usual to form the image of the Nile of black stone, because it falls through Æthiopia into the sea. I cannot, however, be induced to believe the report which I have heard in Psophis, that Aglaus the Psophidian, as likewise Crœsus the Lydian, were happy during the whole period of their present existence. For though a man may be found who is afflicted with less evils than his contemporaries, just as one ship may be less agitated by tempests than another; yet we shall never be able to find a man perpetually free from calamity, any more than a ship which always sails with prosperous winds. In confirmation of this opinion, Homer places two urns by the throne of Jupiter, one of which is full of good, and the other of evil. And this is evinced by the Delphic Apollo, who called Homer both miserable and blessed, as being one who was equally born to evil and good.

CHAPTER XXV.

As you proceed to Thelpusa from Psophis, the first place you will arrive at on the left hand of Ladon is Trophæa. After this there is a grove which is called Aphrodisium: and in it there is a column on which ancient letters are cut, signifying, that this place forms the boundaries between the Thelpusians and Psophidians. But in the Thelpusian land there is a river called Arse. After you have passed over this river, at the distance of twenty-five stadia, you will arrive at the ruins of a place called Caous, and which they denominate the temple of Æsculapius, from a temple of this god being raised in the road. At the distance of forty stadia from this temple is the city Thelpusa, which they say was denominated from the nymph Thelpusa, who was the daughter of Ladon. But the water of the river Ladon commences from the Clitorian land, as I have before observed. It flows, too, first of all through Leucasium and Mesoboa, and through Nasi, to Oryx, and that place which they call Halus. But from Halus it passes on to Thaliades, and the temple of Eleusinian Ceres. This temple is on the borders of the Thelpusians; and it contains statues, each of which is not less than seven feet in altitude, of Ceres, Proserpine, and Bacchus, all of which are made of stone. After the temple of Eleusinian Ceres, the river Ladon flows on the left hand of the city Thelpusa. This city is situated on a lofty hill, but at present it is for the most a solitary waste; so that the forum is now in the extremity of the city, which was formerly in its most interior parts. In Thelpusa, too, there is a temple of Æsculapius, and a temple of the twelve gods. But the greater part of this last is almost levelled with the ground.

After Thelpusa the river Ladon directs its course to a temple of Ceres in Oncium. The Thelpusii call the goddess Erinnys: and Antimachus agrees with them in that poem, in which he relates the expedition of the Argives against the Thebans. For in this poem there is the following verse:

> "There fame reports Erinnys' Ceres' temple stands."

But the place in which the temple of Ceres stands was called Oncium from Oncus, who is said to have been the son of Apollo, and who reigned there. And the goddess was called Erinnys on the following account: During the wanderings of Ceres to discover her daughter, they report that Neptune desired to have connexion with the goddess. But Ceres turned herself into a mare, and fed with the horses at Oncium in order to elude the pursuit of Neptune. The god, however, discovered the deceit, and, changing himself into a horse, enjoyed the goddess. Afterwards, Ceres was at first angry with Neptune for the action; but in process of time she laid aside her anger, and is said to have desired to bathe in the river Ladon. The goddess, therefore, was called Erinnys from this circumstance, because the Arcadians call the exercise of anger ερινννειν, *erinnuein:* but she was denominated *Lusia,* from *washing* herself in the river Ladon. The statues in this temple are made of wood, except their faces, and the extremities of their hands and feet; for these are of Parian stone. But the statue of Erinnys holds a cista in its left hand, and a torch in its right hand; and, as I conjecture, is about nine feet in altitude. Lusia, however, does not appear to be more than six feet in height. But those who assert that this statue is the statue of Themis, and not of Ceres Lusia, are by no means to be credited. They say, too, that Ceres had by Neptune a daughter, whose name they do not think it lawful to reveal to the uninitiated, and a horse whose name was Arion. Neptune, likewise, was first called *Equestrian* by the Arcadians. In proof of this, they cite verses from the Iliad and Thebaid. From the Iliad the following respecting Arion:

"Not though thy rival drove Adrastus' steed,
Divine Arion, of celestial breed."

But from the Thebaid, where the flight of Adrastus is mentioned:

"With blue Arion clad in black he fled."

These verses, therefore, obscurely signify, that Neptune was the father of Arion. Antimachus, however, says that Arion was the offspring of the earth: "Adrastus, the son of Talaus and the grandson of Cretheus, was the first of the Grecians that became renowned for driving horses. But he drove the swift Cærus, and the Thelpusian Arion, which the earth brought forth near the grove of Oncean Apollo, and which were reverenced by mortals when they beheld them." If, therefore, these horses sprung from the earth, it is very probable that their origin was divine, and that their hairs were of a blue colour. The following particulars, too, are related: When Hercules warred on the Eleans, he requested Oncus to lend him Arion; and being carried to the battle on this horse, he took Elis. But afterwards, Adrastus gave Arion to Hercules. And lastly, Antimachus observes farther concerning Arion, that

> "By the third king Adrastus he was tamed."

But the river Ladon, leaving the temple of Erinnys, directs its course on the left hand of the temple of Apollo Onceatas: but on its right hand it has the temple of the boy Æsculapius, near which there is a sepulchre of the nurse Trygon. They say, that this Trygon was the nurse of Æsculapius. For when the boy Æsculapius was left exposed in the Thelpusian land, Autolaus, the bastard son of Arcas, happened to meet with him, and preserved him. And I think it is more probable that Æsculapius was called *a boy* on this account, as I have shown in my account of the Epidaurian affairs. The river Tuthoa, too, flows into Ladon, near the borders of the Heræenses; which place the Arcadians call *the plain*. But the place in which the Ladon pours itself into the Alpheus, is denominated *Nasos Coracoon*, or *the Island of Crows*. Some are of opinion, that the places Enispe, Stratie, and Ripe, which are mentioned by Homer, were once inhabited islands in the Ladon. But I should consider those who entertain this opinion as ridiculous persons; for though the Ladon is the most beautiful of all the rivers that flow either through Barbaric or Grecian land, yet it is not large enough to admit islands such as exist in the rivers Ister and Eridanus.

CHAPTER XXVI.

But Heræeus, the son of Lycaon, built Heræa; and this city is situated on the right hand of the river Alpheus. The greater part, too, of the city has a gradual elevation; but the remaining part extends to the river Alpheus. Near the river there are places for racing, which are separated from each other by myrtle, and other planted trees. Here, too, there are baths: and two temples of Bacchus, one of which they call Polites, and the other Axites. They have besides a building in which they celebrate the orgies of Bacchus. There is also a temple of Pan in Heræa: for this god was a native of Arcadia. But of the temple of Juno nothing but ruins and pillars remain. Of all the Arcadian athletæ, too, Demaratus Heræensis was the most illustrious, who first conquered in the armed course in Olympia. On proceeding from Heræa to the Elean land, to the distance of about fifteen stadia, and passing over the river Ladon, you will arrive at the distance of twenty stadia from thence at Erymanthus. According to the Arcadians, Erymanthus separates the borders of Heræa from the Elean land; but according to the Eleans, the sepulchre of Corœbus is the boundary of their country. For when Iphitus restored the Olympic games, which had been for a long time neglected, and only proposed the contest of the race, Corœbus was victorious. And there is an inscription on his tomb, which signifies that Corœbus conquered in the Olympic games, that he was the first who conquered, and that his sepulchre was raised in the extremity of the Elean land.

There is a small city, too, called Aliphera, which was abandoned by most of its inhabitants when the Arcadians collected themselves together in Megalopolis. On proceeding, therefore, to this city from Heræa, after you have crossed the Alpheus, and passed on to the distance of about ten stadia, you will arrive at a mountain; and at the distance of thirty stadia from hence, you will ascend through a mountain to the small city Aliphera, which was so called from Alipherus, the son of Lycaon. Here there are temples of Æsculapius and Minerva, which divinities they reverence above all others, because, as they assert, they were born and educated among them. There is also an altar here dedicated to Jupiter Lecheatas, because in this place he brought forth Minerva. They call the fountain, too, in this place Tritonis, in consequence of what is reported concerning the river Triton. But the statue of Minerva is made of brass, was the work of Hypatodorus, and deserves to be inspected both for its magnitude and the art displayed in its fabrication. They, likewise, celebrate a public festival, (Paneguris) in honour of a certain divinity, who appears to me to be Minerva. In this Paneguris they sacrifice first of all to Myiagrus, and promise to the hero, by a vow, the victims hereafter to be immolated. They invoke him, too, and believe that by performing these ceremonies they shall be in future free from the molestation of flies. But about the road which leads from Heræa to Megalopolis is the city Melæneæ. This city was built by Melæneus, the son of Lycaon: but at present it is destitute of inhabitants, on account of its being covered with stagnant waters. Above Melæneæ, and at the distance of forty stadia, Buphagium is situated; in which place the fountains of the river Buphagus, that pours itself into the Alpheus, are contained. And the boundaries between the Heræenses and Megalopolitans are situated about the fountains of Buphagus.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Megalopolis, however, is the most recent, not only of all the Arcadian, but of all the cities in Greece, except such as, in consequence of the calamity of the Roman empire, became colonized by the migration of inhabitants from their captured cities. But the Arcadians migrated into Megalopolis for the sake of its strength; for they knew that the Argives from very early periods, and almost daily, were infested with the hostile incursions of the Lacedæmonians; and that the Argives having lost some small cities of no great consequence, viz. Tiryntha, Hysiæ, Orneæ, Mycenæ, and Midea, had so increased their city by the inhabitants which migrated from those towns, that they became afterwards less afraid of the Lacedæmonians, and had a stronger defence against their neighbouring foes. The Arcadians, therefore, collected themselves together, in consequence of perceiving the propriety of the Argives' conduct on a similar occasion. But the person that colonized this city may be very justly said to be the Theban Epaminondas. For he collected the Arcadians into one body, and sent to their assistance a thousand chosen troops of Thebans under the command of Pammenes, who were to fight in their defence in case the Lacedæmonians should endeavour to prevent their establishing a colony. Ten men, too, were chosen by the Arcadians, as their leaders in this undertaking, viz. from Tegea, Timon and Proxenus; from Mantinea, Lycomedes and Poleas; from the Clitorians, Cleolaus and Acriphius; from Mænalus, Eucampidas and Hieronymus; and from the Parrhasians, Pasicrates and Theoxenus.

But the cities which were persuaded by the Arcadians to abandon their own countries, through the desire of new habitations, and hatred of the Lacedæmonians, were these: From Mænalus, Halia, Pallantium, Eutasum, Amasium, Jasæa, Aperethes, Helesson, Oresthasium, Dipæa, Alycæa. From the Eutresians, Tricoloni, Zoetium, Charisia, Ptolederma, Cnauson, Parorea. From the Æpytians, Scirtonium, Malæa, Cromi, Blenina, Leuctron. And besides these, of the Parrhasians, the Lycosurenses, Thocnenses, Trapezuntii, Prosenses, Acacesium, Acontimacaria, and

Daseà. But from the Cynuræans in Arcadia, Gortys, Thisa, near Lycæum, Lycotæ, and Aliphera. And of those who are ranked among the Orchomenians, Thisoa, Methydrium, Teuthis: to which were added, Tripolis, which is called Callia Dipœnæ, and Nonacris. Of all this multitude of people none refused to conform to the general decree of the Arcadians, but zealously collected themselves into Megalopolis, except the Lycosurenses and Trapezuntii, who revolted from the Arcadians, because they could not be induced to leave their ancient cities. Hence a great part of these were unwillingly, and by force, brought to Megalopolis. But those Trapezuntians, whom the anger of the Arcadians spared, entirely abandoned Peloponnesus, and arriving with their vessels safe at Pontus, were permitted to take up their residence among those who built the metropolis Trapezus on the coast of the Euxine sea. The Arcadians, however, spared the refractory Lycosurenses, in consequence of their flying for refuge to the temple of Ceres and Despoina. With respect to the other cities that we have mentioned, some are entirely at present desolate, and others are inhabited as villages by the Megalopolitans, viz. Gortyna, Dipœnæ, Thisoa near Orchomenus, Methydrion, Teuthis, Callia, Helisson. Pallantium alone of these towns felt the avenging hand of the dæmon in a manner less severe. The Alipherenses, too, retain their ancient city even at present.

But Megalopolis was inhabited for the first time in the same year, and a few months after the Lacedæmonians suffered that great loss at Leuctra, and when Phrasiclides was the Athenian archon; it being then the second year of the one hundred and second Olympiad, in which Damon the Thurian was victorious in the stadium. And then, indeed, the Megalopolitans, being the allies of the Thebans, feared nothing from the Lacedæmonians. But after the Thebans engaged in that war which was called sacred, and were vanquished by the Phocenses, who were assisted by their neighbours the Bœotians, and were in no want of money, in consequence of having plundered the temple in Delphos;—then the Lacedæmonians drove from their cities, through the vigour of their exertions, both other Arcadians and the Megalopolitans. The citizens, however, making a sharp resistance, and being readily assisted by their neighbours, nothing was accomplished which deserves to be related. But Philip, the son of Amyntas, increased the empire of the Macedonians in no small degree, through the hatred of the Arcadians towards the Lacedæmonians. For the Arcadians were neither present in the battle at Chæronea, nor in the engagement at Thessaly. Not long after, however, the tyrant Aristodemus ruled over the Megalopolitans, who was a Phigalian, and the son of Artylas, but was adopted by Tritæus, a man of no small account in his own country. This Aristodemus, during his reign, was called the frugal: and while he held the reins of government, the Lacedæmonians marched with an army against Megalopolis, having for their general Acrotatus, the eldest son of Cleomenes, whose genealogy, as well as that of all the Spartan kings, we have already related. Here a sharp engagement took place, and many fell on both sides, but the Megalopolitans left the field of battle victorious. Among others, too, that fell of the Lacedæmonians, was Acrotatus, who, therefore, did not succeed his father in the royal authority.

But almost two ages after Aristodemus, Lydiades succeeded to the tyranny, who was of an obscure family, but naturally ambitious; and, as he afterwards evinced, was a lover of his country. For he began his reign when but a young man; and as soon as he was capable of behaving with proper prudence, voluntarily resigned the royal authority, though his government was in a state of perfect security; and the Megalopolitans then joining themselves to the Achaic council, he was so much approved by his own people, and all the Achaians, that his reputation was equal to that of Aratus. But now, for the third time, the Lacedæmonians attacked Megalopolis during the reign of Agis, the son of Eudamidas, who was of the other family, with an army much more numerous than before, when Acrotatus was their general. In this battle they slew the Megalopolitans who came out of their city to oppose them, and, placing strong machines against the walls, so vehemently shook a tower that stood on that part of the wall which they attacked, that they expected the next day to be able to throw down the walls. The north wind, however, which had more than once assisted the Greeks, was now beneficial to the Megalopolitans. For this wind, which dashed many of the Persian ships on the rocks of the promontory Sepias, threw down the machine of Agis, and by its violence and continuance entirely destroyed it. But this Agis, who was prevented by the north wind from taking Megalopolis, is the same person that took Pellene in Achaia, under the command of Aratus and the Sicyonians, and who afterwards fell in the battle at Mantinea.

Not long after this, Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas, violated the league which had been made with the Megalopolitans, and oppressed their city. But of the Megalopolitans, some fell fighting in the night for the defence of their country, among whom was Lydiades, who died nobly in this engagement; and nearly two parts of the people, as well soldiers as boys and women, fled with Philopœmen to Messenia. But the rest were slain by Cleomenes after the city was taken. However, how the Megalopolitans recovered their dominions, and what they accomplished after their restoration, will be shown by me in my account of Philopœmen. The Lacedæmonian people, indeed, were in no respect the cause of the calamity of the Megalopolitans; as the blame is entirely to be laid on Cleomenes, who changed the Lacedæmonian polity from a kingdom into a tyranny. But the boundaries between the Megalopolitans and the Heræenses are, as I have before observed, about the fountains of the river Buphagus. This river was denominated from the hero Buphagus, who was the son of Iapetus and Thornax. The name of Thornax, too, is celebrated in the Laconic region: but they report that Buphagus was pierced with the arrows of Diana, in the mountain Pholoe, in consequence of daring to behave impiously towards the goddess.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

On proceeding from the fountains of the river, you will arrive in the first place at Maratha; and afterwards at Gortys, which is now a village, but was formerly a city. In this place there is a temple of Æsculapius, of Pentelican stone; and a statue of the god without a beard, and of Hygia, the work of Scopas. The natives assert, that a coat of mail and a spear were dedicated in the temple of Æsculapius by Alexander, the son of Philip: and even at present a coat of mail and the point of a spear are to be seen in this temple. A river runs through Gortys, which near its fountains is called Lysius, because Jupiter was washed here as soon as he was born: but that part of the river, which is at a greater distance from the fountains, is called Gortynius, from the village Gortys. This river Gortynius affords the coldest water of all rivers: for, in my opinion, the Ister, Rhine, Hypanis, Borysthenes, and other rivers whose waters are frozen in winter, ought rather to be called Brumal than cold; as these rivers flow through the earth for the greatest part of the year covered with snow, and are surrounded with a cold air. But those rivers that flow through temperate regions, and in summer refrigerate either by drinking or bathing in them, and are not even unfit for these purposes in winter—these rivers I do not denominate cold. The water, however, of the river Cydnus, which flows through the land of the Tarsenses; of Melas, which flows through the Pamphylian Side; and of Ales at Colophon, which are celebrated for their coldness by poets—these I denominate cold. Gortynius, however, surpasses all these in coldness, especially in summer. But its fountains are in Thisoa, which borders on the Methydrienses; and they call the confluence of the Alpheus and Gortynius, Rhæteæ.

Teuthis, which is now a village, but was formerly a city, is near to Thisoa. In the Trojan war this place sent a general whose name was Teuthis; but others call him Ornytus. While the Greeks were detained at Aulis by adverse winds, a disagreement arose between Teuthis and Agamemnon; and in consequence of this, Teuthis, they say, was about to lead back his forces, but Minerva, in the form of Melas, the son of Ops, opposed his design. Teuthis, however, through the violence of his anger at that time, pierced the thigh of the goddess with his spear, and led back his army from Aulis. But when he returned home, the goddess appeared to him, and showed him her wounded thigh. From that time Teuthis was seized with a deadly kind of consumption: and the earth was barren in this part of Arcadia alone. Some time after, however, an oracle from Dodona admonished them to appease the goddess: in consequence of which they made a statue of Minerva, with a wound in the thigh. This statue I have seen with a purple bandage round its thigh. In Teuthis, too, there are temples of Venus and Diana. But in that road which leads from Gortys to Megalopolis, there is a sepulchre of those who died in the battle against Cleomenes. This sepulchre the Megalopolitans call Paræbasium, because Cleomenes violated the league which had been made with them. After Paræbasium there is a plain of sixty stadia in extent: and on the right hand of the road there are ruins of the city Brenthe, and a river running through them, which at the distance of five stadia from hence pours itself into the Alpheus.

CHAPTER XXIX.

After you have passed over the Alpheus, you will arrive at a place called Trapezuntia, and the ruins of the city Trapeazus. Proceeding from hence, on the left hand of the Alpheus, you will see, not far from the river, a place called Bathos, in which every third year they celebrate the mysteries of the Great Goddesses. There is a fountain here which is denominated Olympias, the water of which flows only every other year: and fire ascends near the fountain. The Arcadians report, that the battle between the giants and the gods was fought here, and not at Pellene in Thrace: in consequence of which they sacrifice here to lightning, storms, and thunder. Homer, indeed, makes no mention in the Iliad of the giants: but in the Odyssey, he says, that the Læstrygons, who resembled *giants* and not men, assaulted the ships of Ulysses. He also represents the king of the Phæacians saying, that the Phæacians dwelt near the gods as well as the Cyclops, and *the race of giants.* In these passages, therefore, he evinces that the giants were mortals, and not the offspring of the gods. And this he shows still more clearly in the following verses:

> " Eurymedon's last hope, who ruled, of old,
> The race of giants, impious, proud, and bold:
> Perish'd the People in unrighteous war;
> Perish'd the prince, and left this only heir."

For most are of opinion, that by λαος or *people* in these verses, Homer means the multitude of mankind.

But that the extremities of the giants were dragons, may be confuted by many arguments, and particularly by the following circumstance: a Roman emperor once endeavoured to pass with a fleet from the sea to the city Antioch, through the Syrian river Orontes, which pours itself into the sea, not always through plains, but through shelving places, and with a precipitate course. Having, therefore, dug a moat with great labour and expense, he turned the river into it. But when the ancient channel of the river was dried up, an earthen urn was found in it, more than eleven cubits in altitude; and in the urn there was the dead body of a man of the same magnitude with the urn. The deity of Claros told the Syrians who consulted his oracle, that this was the body of Orontes, who was by birth an Indian. If, indeed, the earth at first, while it was yet wet, and full of moisture, produced the first men, through the heat of the sun, what region can be supposed to have been moist prior to India, or what part of the earth could produce larger men than that country, which at present is the nurse of beasts so prodigiously large, and of such wonderful shapes? But at the distance of about ten stadia from that place which is called Bathos, is the city Basilis, which was built by Cypselus, who gave his daughter in marriage to Cresphontes, the son of Aristomachus. At present nothing but the ruins of Basilis remain; and among these there is a temple of Eleusinian Ceres. Proceeding from hence, when you have again crossed the Alpheus you will arrive at Thocnia, which was denominated from Thocnus the son of Lycaon. This place is at present entirely destitute of inhabitants. Thocnus is said to have built this city on a hill, near which the river Aminius flowing, pours itself into the Helisson: and not far from this the Helisson runs into the Alpheus.

CHAPTER XXX.

WITH respect to the Helisson, it commences from a village of the same name, and from thence flows through the land of the Dipæenses and the region Lycæatis, and in the third place runs through the city of the Megalopolitans, and pours itself into the Alpheus at the distance of about thirty stadia from the city. But near the city there is a temple of Neptune *Epoptas*, or *the Speculator:* but the head of the statue alone remains. As the river Helisson, too, divides the city, just as the Euripi divide Cnidos and Mitylene, hence, on the right hand of the river, and near its more elevated parts, there is a forum towards the north, in which there is an inclosure of stones, and a temple of Lycæan Jupiter, but without any entrance: for the contents of the temple immediately present themselves to the view. There are two altars here, and tables sacred to the god, together with two eagles, and a statue of Pan made of stone. This Pan is called Sinois from the nymph Sinoe, who together with other nymphs, and apart from them, is said to have been the nurse of Pan. Before the grove of this temple there is a brazen statue of Apollo well worthy of inspection, the magnitude of which is about twelve feet, and which was brought from villages belonging to the Phigaleans, for the purpose of contributing to the ornament of Megalopolis. But the place where this statue is dedicated, was called from the first by the Phigaleans, Bassæ. The appellation of the god attended the statue from the Phigaleans to Megalopolis: but on what account Apollo came to be called Epicurius, I shall explain in my description of the Phigalean affairs. On the right hand of this statue of Apollo there is a statue of no great magnitude of the Mother of the Gods; but nothing of the temple remains but the pillars. Before the temple, too, of the Mother of the Gods there is no longer any statue; but the steps remain on which the statues once stood. An elegy which is inscribed on one of these steps, signifies that the statue belonging to it was the image of Diophanes, the son of Diæus, who first joined all Peloponnesus to the Achaic council. But the porch of the forum which is called Philippeon, was not raised by Philip the son of Amyntas; but it was so denominated by the Megalopolitans, in consequence of their being in favour with the king.

Near this porch is the temple of Mercury Acacesius, of which nothing but the stone roof remains. Another porch follows the Philippian porch, but which is not equal to it in magnitude. The Megalopolitans have in this place six ancient buildings. In one of these there is a statue of Ephesian Diana; and in another there is a brazen statue of Pan, who is called Scolitas, of a cubit in magnitude. This last statue was brought hither from a hill within the walls, which is likewise called Scolitas. From this hill water falls from a fountain into the Helisson. Behind these ancient buildings there is a temple of Fortune, and a stone statue of the goddess, of about five feet in dimensions. But the porch, which they call *Myropolis,* or *the porch of perfumes,* is a part of the forum, and was built out of the spoils of the Lacedæmonians, who under the command of Acrotatus, the son of Cleomenes, were vanquished by Aristodemus, who then tyrannized in Megalopolis. In the forum, too, of the Megalopolitans, and behind that inclosure which is dedicated to Lycæan Jupiter, Polybius the son of Lycortas stands on a pillar. There is an inscription on him, which signifies that he wandered over every land and sea, that he was the ally of the Romans, and that he caused their anger towards the Grecians to cease. This Polybius wrote an account of the other transactions of the Romans, and of their war with the Carthaginians. In this history he relates the origin of the Carthaginian war, and how at last, but not without great danger, the Romans ended the war by means of Scipio Africanus, and subverted Carthage from its very foundations. Indeed, whatever the Roman general undertook through the advice of Polybius, was crowned with success; but such of his actions as were the result of opinions contrary to those of Polybius, are said to have been always unfortunate. Those cities, too, which joined themselves to the Achaians found that Polybius was employed by the Romans as the founder of their politics, and the dictator of their laws. On the left hand of the statue of Polybius there is a place of consultation, which is called Bouleuterion. But that porch of the forum which is denominated Aristandrea is said to have been built by Aristander, a native of this place. Very near this porch, and opposite to the east, there is a temple of Jupiter the Saviour, which is on all sides surrounded with pillars. A statue of Megalopolis stands on the right hand of Jupiter, who sits on a throne; and on his left hand there is a statue of Diana the Saviour. These statues, which are of Pentelican stone, were made by the Athenians Cephisodotus and Xenophon.

CHAPTER XXXI.

But the other extremity of the porch, which extends towards the west, contains a sacred inclosure of the Great Goddesses. These Great Goddesses are, as I have shown in my account of the Messenian affairs, Ceres and Proserpine. But the Arcadians call Proserpine *the Saviour*. Before the entrance of the temple there are statues on bases of Diana, Æsculapius, and Hygia. Of the Great Goddesses, the statue of Ceres is entirely of stone: but that of the Saviour, in the part where she is veiled, is wooden. The magnitude, too, of each statue is fifteen feet. Before these statues of Ceres and Proserpine there are two small virgins, clothed with garments reaching to their feet; and each has a basket on her head full of flowers. These are said to be the daughters of Damaphon. Others, however, refer them to something more divine: and, according to them, the two virgins are Minerva and Diana, gathering flowers together with Proserpine. Near Ceres, too, there is a statue of Hercules, of a cubit in magnitude. Onomacritus in his poems says, that this Hercules is one of the Dactyli Idæi. There are, besides, near Ceres two of the Seasons, Pan with a pipe, and Apollo playing on a harp. There is an inscription on these, which signifies that these rank among the first gods. Nymphs, too, are placed on a table, viz. a Naiad holding in her arms an infant Jupiter; Anthracia, an Arcadian nymph, holding a torch; Agno, with a water-pot in one hand, and a bowl in the other; and Archiroe and Myrtoessa with water-pots, out of which the water is represented running. Within the inclosure there is a temple of Jupiter *Philius*, or *the guardian of friendship*, and a statue resembling Bacchus, which was made by the Argive Polycletus; for the god has buskins instead of shoes; and in one hand holds a cup, and in the other a thyrsus. An eagle is represented perched on the thyrsus, though this particular does not correspond with what is asserted of Bacchus.

Behind this temple there is a grove of trees, which is not large, and is surrounded with a wall, within which men are not permitted to enter. Before this grove there are statues of Ceres and Proserpine, each of which is about three feet in altitude. But within the inclosure there is a temple of the Great Goddesses and of Venus. And before the entrance to it there are ancient wooden statues, viz. Juno, Apollo, and the Muses. They say that these were brought from Trapezus. In the temple there is a wooden statue of Mercury, and one of Venus, which were made by Damaphon.

The hands, face, and extremities of the feet of Venus are made of stone. The appellation, too, of *Mechanitis*, or *the artist*, is, as it appears to me, very properly given to the goddess; because for the sake of Venus and her works most of the operations of art take place, and words capable of effecting persuasion are devised. There are, besides, statues of men in this building, viz. of Callignotus, Mentas, Sosigenes, and Polus. These men are said to have been the first that instituted for the Megalopolitans the mysteries of the Great Goddesses, which are imitations of the things performed in Eleusis. But within the inclosure there are statues of a square figure of the following gods: Hermes who is called *Agetor*, or *the leader:* Apollo, Minerva, Neptune; and besides these the Sun, under the appellation of the Saviour, and Hercules. There is a very large temple for these statues: and in this temple they perform the mysteries of the Great Goddesses. On the right hand of this temple there is a temple of Ceres and Proserpine, and a stone statue about eight feet in altitude. Fillets gird the base of this statue on all sides. Women are permitted to enter into this temple at all times: but men only once every year. There is a gymnasium, too, joining to the forum towards the west. But behind that porch, which they call the porch of Philip, there are two hills, but which do not rise to a steep. On one of these there are ruins of a temple of Minerva Polias; and on the other there is a temple of Juno *the perfect:* but of this, likewise, nothing more than ruins remains. Under this last hill there is a fountain called Bathyllus, which contributes to the magnitude of the Helisson. And such are the particulars which deserve to be related in this part.

CHAPTER XXXII.

But in that part of the city which is beyond the river, and is situated towards the west, there is a theatre, the largest of any in Greece, and in it a fountain of ever-running water. Not far from this theatre the foundations of a Bouleuterion remain, which was raised for select persons chosen out of all the Arcadians. It is called from its builder Thersilia. Near it there is a house, which at present belongs to a private person, but which was at first built for Alexander the son Philip. Before this house there is a statue of Ammon, which resembles the square figures of Mercury, and which has the horns of a ram on its head. But the foundations alone remain, and these not many, of that temple which was raised in common to the Muses, Apollo, and Mercury. One statue of the Muses is left, and a statue of Apollo, which is fashioned after the manner of the square figures of Mercury. Nothing likewise remains of the temple of Venus but the front, in which there are three statues; the first of these they call Celestial Venus; the second Venus the popular; and the third is without a name. Not far from hence there is an altar of Mars, which is said to have been raised to this god from the first. Above the temple of Venus there is a stadium, which reaches to the theatre: and there is a fountain here, which they consider as sacred to Bacchus.

In the other extremity of the stadium there is a temple of Bacchus, which they say was blasted by lightning two ages prior to the present time; and of which not many ruins remain. But the temple common to Hercules and Mercury, which stood before the stadium, no longer exists; the altar which belonged to it alone remains. In this part of the city, too, there is a hill situated towards the east, and on it a temple of Rural Diana, which was dedicated by Aristodemus.

On the right hand of this temple there is a grove, and in it a temple of Æsculapius, which contains a statue of the god, and a statue of Hygia. On descending to a small distance from hence, you will see statues of gods made from square stones, and who are called *Ergatai*, or *Operators*. Among these divinities are Minerva Ergane, and *Agyieus* Apollo, who is thus denominated from *presiding over roads*. But with respect to Mercury, Hercules, and Lucina, employments are attributed to these from the verses of Homer. For Mercury is the minister of Jupiter, and the leader of souls to Hades from the present life; Hercules accomplishes many and difficult labours; and Lucina, according to the Iliad, takes care of pregnant women. Under this hill, too, there is another temple of the boy Æsculapius; and the statue of the god, which is about a cubit in magnitude, is in an upright position. But the statue of Apollo sits on a throne, and is about six feet in altitude. Bones are to be seen in this place, surpassing in magnitude those of a man, and which are said to have been the bones of one of the giants, whom Oplodamas called to the assistance of Rhea: of which affair I shall hereafter make mention. Near this temple there is a fountain, the water of which is received by the Helisson.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

MEGALOPOLIS, indeed, which was built by the Arcadians with the utmost alacrity, and which raised among the Greeks the greatest hopes of its prosperity, having lost all its ornaments, and its ancient felicity, is now for the most part a heap of ruins. But this I by no means wonder at, as I know that a divine power is always desirous of producing something new; and that Fortune in a similar manner changes alike things strong, and things imbecile; such as are rising into existence, and such as are verging to decay; and that she hurries them along through the force of powerful necessity. For Mycenæ, which in the times of the Trojan war ruled over all Greece, and Ninus, which was the royal city of the Assyrians, are now no more. In Bœotia, too, Thebes, which at one time was the first in dignity of all the Grecian cities, is now reduced to a tower, and has but few inhabitants. So again, the cities which formerly surpassed all others in wealth, such as the Egyptian Thebes, and the Minyean Orchomenus, are now inferior to the moderate fortune of a private man. Delos, too, which was once the common emporium of the Greeks, is now so fallen, that if the guard of the temple sent by the Athenians was removed, it would be deserted of inhabitants. All that remains of Babylon is the temple of Belus and the walls of the city; of Babylon, a greater city than which the sun formerly did not any where behold; and in like manner nothing of Tiryntha, an Argolic city, remains but the walls. All these the dæmon has reduced to nothing. On the contrary, the city of Alexander in Egypt, and the city of Seleucus, near the river Orontes, which were but raised as it were yesterday, have arrived at such a degree of power and felicity, that Fortune seems to have received them into her embraces. The goddess, however, has in my time exhibited a much greater and more wonderful specimen of the calamity and prosperity of cities than the preceding instances afford. For there was an island Chryse, at no great distance by sea from Lemnos; and they say, that in this island the misfortune happened to Philoctetes from the hydra. The waves have overwhelmed this island, so that it has entirely disappeared, being merged in the profundities of the sea. But there is now an island called Hiera, which at that time had no existence. Thus fortuitous are human affairs, and by no means stable and sure.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

On proceeding from Megalopolis to Messenia, at the distance of about seven stadia, you will see on the left hand of the public road a temple of the goddesses, who, as well as the place about the temple, are called *Maniai.* It appears to me, that this is an appellation of the Furies: and they say, that Orestes became insane in this place, on account of the murder of his mother. Not far from this temple there is a small heap of earth, upon which there is a finger of stone: and hence this mass of earth is called *the monument of the finger.* They farther report, that Orestes, during his insanity in this place, cut off one of his fingers. Contiguous to this monument there is a place called Ace, because Orestes found in it the cure of his malady. There is also a temple here of the Furies. They say, that when Orestes was first seized with insanity, these goddesses appeared to him perfectly black; but that when he had cut off his finger, they again presented themselves before him entirely white; and that by beholding them, he recovered the use of his understanding. They add, that in consequence of this he performed funeral rites to them, under a black appearance, in order to avert their anger: but that he sacrificed to them under a white appearance. When they sacrifice, too, to the Furies, they also sacrifice to the Graces. Near Ace there is another temple, which they call Tonstrina, because Orestes, as soon as he was within the temple, shaved off his hair. But such of the Peloponnesians as apply themselves to ancient affairs affirm, that these things happened to Orestes in Arcadia, in consequence of the Furies punishing him for the murder of his mother, before he was judged in the Areopagus. They add, that his accuser was not Tyndareus, because he was not at that time among the living, but Perilaus, the cousin of Clytemnestra. For Perilaus was the son of Icarius, who had daughters after Perilaus was born. From the Mantinenses there is a road of about fifteen stadia in length, which leads to Alpheus; and in this road the river Gatheatas pours itself into the Alpheus: though, prior to this, the river Carnion flows into the Gatheatas. But the fountains of the Carnion are in Æpytis, under the temple of Apollo Cereatas; and those of Gatheatas are in Cromitis in Gatheæ. This village Cromitis is about forty stadia beyond the Alpheus, and contains the vestiges of the city Cromon, which is now almost abolished. But a place called Nymphas is at about the distance of twenty stadia from Cromon. It is well watered, and full of trees. From hence, at the distance of twenty stadia, you will arrive at Hermæum, which contains the boundaries between the Messenians and the Megalopolitans; and in which there is a Mercury standing on a pillar.

CHAPTER XXXV.

And such are the particulars in the road to Messene: but the other road leads to Carnasium, a town of the Messenians. Proceeding along this road, you will first of all arrive at the Alpheus; and at that part in which Mallus and Syrus, uniting their streams, pour themselves into the Alpheus. From thence, Mallus flowing on your right hand, at the distance of thirty stadia, after you have crossed the river, you will ascend near its extremity, through a steep path, to a place called Phædria. Hermæum is distant from Phædria about fifteen stadia, and is situated near the temple of Despoina. These two places are the boundaries between the Messenians and Megalopolitans; and they contain small statues of Despoina and Ceres, Mercury and Hercules. It appears to me, too, that the wooden statue of Hercules, which was made by Dædalus, formerly stood in the confines of

Messenia and the Arcadian land. But the road from Megalopolis to Lacedæmon leads to the river Alpheus, and is about thirty stadia in length. From hence you will arrive at the river Thius, which falls into the Alpheus. Leaving, therefore, Thius on your left hand, at the distance of forty stadia you will arrive at Phalæsiæ, which is distant twenty stadia from the temple of Mercury, near Belemina. The Arcadians assert, that Belemina formerly belonged to them, and that it was cut off from the Lacedæmonians. They appear, however, to me to speak improbably, both for other reasons, and particularly because the Thebans would not have neglected the Arcadians, if they had thought Belemina was their natural right. But there are roads from Megalopolis and to certain places within Arcadia. The first of these is to Methydrium, and is one hundred and eighty stadia in length: the second is to Scia, is not far from Megalopolis, and is thirteen stadia in length. This place contains the ruins of a temple of Diana Sciadis. This temple is said to have been raised by Aristodemus when he tyrannized over the Arcadians.

From hence, at the distance of ten stadia, some few remains are to be seen of the city Charisiæ: and a road of ten stadia in length leads from thence to Tricolini, which was once a city. At present there is a temple of Neptune on a hill in this place, in which there is a square statue: and there is a grove of trees round the temple. They say that this city was built by the sons of Lycaon. Zoetion, too, which is distant from Tricolini about fifteen stadia, and which does not lie in a straight direction, but on the left hand, as you proceed from Tricolini, is said to have been built by Zoeteus. Paroreus, the younger son of Trocolinus, built Paroria, which is distant from Zoetion about ten stadia. Both these are at present desolate places. However, in Zoetion the temples of Ceres and Diana remain. There are also other ruins of cities: of Thyræum, which is distant from Paroria about fifteen stadia; and of Hypsus, which is situated on a mountain above the plain, and which as well as the city is called Hypsus. But the country between Thyræum and Tricolini is wholly mountainous, and abounds with wild beasts. We have above shown that Thyræus and Hypsus were the sons of Lycaon. On the right hand of Tricolini there is a steep road to a fountain, which is called *Cruni*, or *an aqueduct*. At the distance of thirty stadia from Cruni is the tomb of Callisto. This tomb is a heap of earth, surrounded with many barren and many fertile trees. On its summit there is a temple of Diana, who is called Calliste. But it appears to me, that Pamphus, learning this name from the Arcadians, was the first poet that called Diana, Calliste. At the distance of twenty-five stadia from hence, but of one hundred from Tricolini, towards Helisson, and in a right line from Methydrium, (for this place belonging to Triciloni is yet left) is a place called Anemosa, and a mountain Phalanthum. On this mountain are the ruins of the city Phalanthum. They say that Phalanthus was the son of Agelaus, and the grandson of Stymphelus. Under this mountain there is a plain called Palus; and near it is the town Schœnus, which was denominated from one Schœneus a Bœotian. But if this Schœneus ever dwelt in Arcadia, it may be inferred, that the places for running, which are called the curricula of Atalanta, and which are near the town Schœnus, were denominated from the daughter of Schœneus. It appears to me, that formerly there were other towns after these: and it is universally agreed, that all these places belong to the Arcadians.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Methydrium, however, of all the above Arcadian towns, is alone left at present. To this town, from Trocolini, there is a road of one hundred and thirty-seven stadia in length. But it was called Methydrium, because Orchomenus formerly built it on a high hill, between the rivers Malœtas and Mylaon. The Methydrienses, indeed, before they belonged to the Megalopolitans, had their victors in the Olympic games. But in Methydrium there is a temple of Equestrian Neptune, by the river Mylaon: and the mountain which is called *Thaumasios*, or *the admirable*, is situated above the river Molossus. According to the Methydrienses, Rhea, when she was pregnant with Jupiter, came to this mountain, having called Hoplodamus, and the other giants, who were his associates, to attend her in order to prevent Saturn from offering any violence to her. And they confess, indeed, that Rhea was delivered in a certain part of Lycæus; but they assert, that the deception respecting Saturn, and the substituting a stone instead of the infant Jupiter, as related by the Greeks, happened in this mountain. Near the summit of the mountain is the cavern of Rhea, into which none are permitted to enter, except the priestesses of the goddess. At the distance, too, of thirty stadia from Methydrium is the fountain Nymphasia: and the boundaries between the Orchomenians, the Caphyates, and the Megalopolitans, are as many stadia distant from the Nymphasia. But there is a road for the Megalopolitans, through the gates to Helos as they are called, to Mænalus; and this road is near the river Helisson. On the left hand of this road there is a temple of *the Good God.* If, indeed, the gods are the sources of good to mankind, and Jupiter is the supreme god, it will be agreeable to reason to conclude that this is an appellation of Jupiter.

On proceeding to no great distance from hence, you will see a heap of earth, which is the tomb of Aristodemus, who, during his tyranny, did not even obtain the appellation of a good tyrant. There is also a temple here of *Inventive Minerva*, who was so called because she invented all arts and counsels. On the right hand of the road there is an altar, dedicated to Boreas, to whom the Megalopolitans sacrifice every year; nor do they pay greater honours to any other divinity, because this deity preserved them from the Lacedæmonians and Agis. After this, the sepulchre of Oicles, the father of Amphiaraus, will present itself to your view; if, indeed, he died in Arcadia, and not during his expedition with Hercules against Laomedon. Near this there is a temple of Ceres in Helos, as it is called, together with a grove, at the distance of about five stadia from the city, Women alone are permitted to enter into this temple. At the distance of thirty stadia from hence there is a mass of earth, which is called Paliscius; and on proceeding from Paliscius, and leaving the river Elaphus on the left hand, which is not a perpetually-running stream, at the distance of about twenty stadia, you will arrive at the ruins of Perætheus, among which a temple of Pan remains. But if you pass over the torrent, you will arrive in a straight line at a plain, which is distant from the river about fifteen stadia; and leaving this, you will arrive at a mountain, which, as well as the plain, is called Mænalus. At the bottom of this mountain are the vestiges of the city Lycoa, together with a temple and brazen statue of Diana Lycoatis.

In the southern part of the mountain, there was formerly a city called Sumatia. In this mountain, too, there is a place which is denominated Trivia, in which the bones of Arcas, the son of Callisto, lie buried, being brought hither by the Mantineuses, by order of the Delphic oracle. The ruins of Mænalus, and of a temple of Minerva, yet remain; and besides these, there is a stadium for the contests of the athletæ, and another for horse races. They are of opinion, that the mountain Mænalus is particularly sacred to Pan: and hence the inhabitants affirm, that they have heard Pan playing on his pipe, Between the temple of Despoina and the city of the Megalopolitans there is a distance of forty stadia; at about half this distance the river Alpheus flows along. At the distance of two stadia from the Alpheus are the ruins of Macareæ; and seven stadia from hence are the ruins of Daseæ. The hill, too, called Acacesius is just at the same distance from Daseæ. The city Acacesium once stood under this hill: and upon the hill there is even at present a stone statue of Mercury Acacesius. The Arcadians assert, that Mercury, when a boy, was educated in this place; and that Acacus, the son of Lycaon, was his nurse. The Thebans, however, dissent from the Arcadians in this particular; and the Tanagræi again from the Thebans. At the distance of four stadia from Acacesius is the temple of Despoina. In this place, the first temple of Diana *Hegemone*, or *the leader*, that was ever seen, stands. The statue of the goddess is of brass, and holds a torch; and its magnitude is about six feet.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

From hence there is an entrance to the sacred inclosure of Despoina. But as you proceed to the temple, there is a porch, on the right hand, and in the wall of it there are statues made of white stone. In one part of the wall are the Fates, and Jupiter *Moiragetes*, or *the leader of the Fates*: but in another part there is a Hercules taking away a tripod from Apollo. The particulars which I have heard respecting these, I shall relate in that part of the history of the Phocenses which pertains to Delphi. In the porch near the temple of Despoina, between the above-mentioned images, there is a table, in which the particulars belonging to the mysteries are painted. Nymphs in the third place, and Pans, are between the images; and in the fourth place there is Polybius the son of Lycortas. An inscription on him signifies, that Greece would not from the first have been molested, if it had followed the counsels of Polybius, and that now they were afflicted, he was their helper. Before the temple there is an altar to Ceres, another to Despoina, and a third to the Great Mother of the Gods. The statues of Despoina and Ceres, and the throne on which they sit, as likewise the basis under their feet, are all but one stone. For neither their garments, nor the ornaments of the throne, are formed from another stone, fastened to the former with iron and glue, but all consist of one stone. Nor was this stone brought hither from some other place; but they say, that it was found by digging up the earth within the inclosure, in consequence of a vision in a dream. But the magnitude of each of the statues appears to be nearly that of the Mother of the Gods at Athens. These, too, are the works of Damaphon. Ceres holds a torch in her right hand, but she extends her other hand to Despoina. But Despoina holds a sceptre, and that which is called a cista on her knees; and her right hand is on the cista. By the side of the throne, Diana stands clothed in a stag's hide, and with a quiver hanging from her shoulders: but in one of her hands she holds a lamp, and in the other two dragons. A dog fit for hunting stands by the side of Diana. But near the statue of Diana, Anytus stands, representing a man in armour.

Those who live about the temple say, that Despoina was educated by Anytus, and that he was one of the Titans. Homer, indeed, was the first poet that introduced the Titans into his verses; and according to him they are subtartarean gods. The verses about them are in the oath of Juno. But Onomacritus, receiving the name of the Titans from Homer, instituted the orgies of Bacchus, and makes the Titans to be the authors of the sufferings of Bacchus. And such are the particulars about Anytus which are circulated by the Arcadians. But Æschylus the son of Euphorion taught the Greeks, from the traditions of the Egyptians, that Diana is the daughter of Ceres, and not of Latona. With respect to the Curetes (for these are carved under the statues), and the Corybantes who are carved under the basis, I shall designedly omit all the particulars belonging to them. The Arcadians bring into this temple, the fruit of all mild trees except the pomegranate. On departing from the temple, through the passage on the right hand, there is a mirror fitted into the wall. Whoever looks into this mirror will at first either perceive himself but very obscurely, or behold nothing at all: but he will very clearly behold the statues of the goddesses, and the throne. Near the temple of Despoina, on ascending a little, you will perceive, on the right hand, that which is called the *Megaron*, or *the magnificent abode*. They celebrate the mysteries here; and the Arcadians sacrifice in it to Despoina many victims in a very unsparing manner. Every one, too, sacrifices according to his possessions. But they do not cut the throats of the victims, as in other sacrifices, but every one cuts off the limb which he first happens to meet with.

The Arcadians, too, venerate Despoina above all the divinities, and assert that she is the daughter of Neptune and Ceres, and is called Despoina by the multitude, just as the offspring of Jupiter and Ceres is generally called *Core*, though her proper name is *Persephone*, which is usurped by Homer, and prior to him by Pamphus. But I am afraid of disclosing the name of Despoina to the uninitiated. Above the building called Megaron there is a grove sacred to Despoina, which is surrounded with a wall of stone. Within this grove there are, among other trees, olives and oaks, which grow from one root; and this is not the result of agricultural skill. Above the grove there is a temple of Equestrian Neptune, he being the father of Despoina; and there are altars of other gods. On the last of these altars there is an inscription, which indicates that this altar is common to all the gods. From hence, through a pair of stairs, you ascend to the temple of Pan. There is a porch adjacent to the temple; and a statue is in the porch, but not of large dimensions. Pan, in the same manner as the most powerful gods, crowns the prayers of mortals with success, and inflicts just punishments on the unworthy. A fire, which is never suffered to be extinguished, burns in honour of Pan. It is also said, that in more ancient times this god gave oracles, and that his prophetess was the Nymph Erato, who was married to Arcas, the son of Callisto: and they relate of this nymph the particulars which we have just now mentioned. In the same place, too, there is an altar of Mars, and within the temple there are two statues of Venus, one of white stone, and the other, which is more ancient, of wood. In a similar manner, there are wooden statues of Apollo and Minerva: and there is a temple raised in honour of Minerva.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

A LITTLE above this place is the inclosure of Lycosura, which does not contain many inhabitants. Lycosura, indeed, is certainly the most ancient of all the cities which are either contained on the continent or in islands: and this was the first that the sun beheld. Hence, from this city, men learnt how to build other cities. But on the left hand of the temple of Despoina is the mountain Lycæum, which they call Olympus; and by others of the Arcadians it is denominated *the sacred summit*. They say that Jupiter was educated on this mountain; and there is a place in the mountain, which is called Cretea, and which is on the left hand of the grove Parrhasius, which is sacred to Apollo. The Arcadians contend, in opposition to the Cretans, that this was the place in which Jupiter was nursed, and not the island Crete. They say, too, that the names of the nymphs by whom Jupiter was nursed, were Thisoa, Neda, and Agno. And from Thisoa, indeed, a city was formerly denominated in Parrhasia: but the village Thisoa is now a part of Megalopolis. A river is called by the name of Neda; and a fountain in the mountain Lycæus, which produces water in winter and summer, like the river Ister, is called by the name of Agno. If it ever happens that the ground is dry, through long-continued heat, and in consequence of this, seeds in the earth, and trees, are destroyed, then the priest of Lycæan Jupiter, praying near this water, and sacrificing such particulars as are instituted by law, extends a branch of an oak over the surface, but does not merge it in the depth of the fountain. The water being moved in consequence of this, a vapour resembling a dark mist ascends from the fountain; shortly after a black cloud arises: and lastly, this being followed by other clouds, causes rain to fall on the earth, agreeably to the wishes of the Arcadians.

In Lycæus, too, there is a temple of Pan, which is surrounded with a grove of trees, a hippodrome, and with a stadium before the hippodrome. The Lupercalia were from the first celebrated in this place. Here, too, there are the bases of certain statues, the statues themselves being removed. An elegy on one of these bases signifies, that the statue which belonged to it was the image of Astyanax, who derived his origin from Arcas. But the mountain Lycæus, among other wonderful particulars with which it abounds, has the following: There is a grove in it of Lycæan Jupiter, into which men are not permitted to enter. If any one, however, despising the law, enters into it, he is sure to die within the space of a year after. They farther report, that both men and beasts which happen to come into this place, cast no shadow from their bodies: and on this account the huntsman is not willing to pursue beasts that fly into this grove; but waiting on the outside, and perceiving the beast, he does not behold any shadow from his body. Indeed, in that part of the year in which the sun is in Cancer, there is no shadow either from trees or animals in Syene, a city near Æthiopia. But in this grove of the mountain Lycæus, this circumstance respecting shadows takes place perpetually, and during every season of the year. On the highest summit, too, of this mountain there is a heap of earth, which forms an altar of Lycæan Jupiter, and from which the greatest part of Peloponnesus may be seen. Before this altar there are two pillars which stand towards the east; and on them there are golden eagles of very ancient workmanship. Upon this altar they sacrifice in an arcane manner to Lycæan Jupiter. I was not permitted to investigate this sacrifice accurately, wherefore, *let these things remain as they are, and as they were from the beginning.*

In that part of the mountain which is situated towards the east, there is a temple of Apollo, who is called Parrhasius: they likewise denominate him Pythius. They celebrate a festival in honour of this god every year, and during the festival sacrifice a boar to Apollo Epicurius in the forum. After they have sacrificed here, they immediately carry the victim to the temple of Parrhasian Apollo, marching to the sound of the pipe, and with solemn pomp. Here cutting off the thighs of the victim they burn them, and consume the entrails in the same place. And such is the mode of sacrifice which they think proper to adopt. But in that part of the mountain which looks towards the north there is a place called Thisoaia. The inhabitants of this place principally venerate the nymph Thisoa. These rivers, too, flow through Thisoaia into the Alpheus, viz. Mylaon, Nus, Achelous, Celadus, and Naphilus. There are, likewise, two other rivers of the same name with the Arcadian Achelous, but much more illustrious. One of these, which runs to the Echinades, through the land of the Acarnanians and Ætolians, is called by Homer in the Iliad the Prince of Rivers: but the other, which flows from the mountain Sipylum, is mentioned by the same poet, together with the mountain, in that part where he relates the calamities of Niobe. There is a third river, too, of the name of Achelous, which flows about the mountain Lycæus. The mountains called Nomii are on the right hand of Lycosura; and there is a temple in them of Nomian Pan. They call this place *Melpea*, because, say they, Pan first discovered here the *melody* of the pipe. But the mountains were called *Nomii*, from the *pastures* of Pan, as may be easily conjectured by any one. The Arcadians, however, say, that they were thus denominated from the name of a certain nymph.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

NEAR Lycosura, and towards the west, the river Plataniston flows. He who is going to Phigalia must necessarily cross this river. But after the Plataniston there is an ascent which is about, or however not much more than thirty stadia. But the particulars respecting Phigalus the son of Lycaon (for he was the first that built the city Phigalia), and how some time after the city was denominated from Phialus the son of Bucolion, and again recovered its pristine appellation, we have already related. Other reports, likewise, are circulated, but which do not deserve to be credited: for some say that Phigalus sprung from the earth, and that he was not the son of Lycaon; and others say that Phigalia was one of the nymphs called Dryades. But when the Lacedæmonians warred on the Arcadians, and led an army against Phigalia, they vanquished the natives; and having nearly taken the walls which they besieged, the Phigalenses fled, and the Lacedæmonians consented to their flight on certain conditions. Phigalia, therefore, was taken, and deserted of its inhabitants, when Miltiades was the Athenian archon, and in the second year of the thirtieth Olympiad, in which Chionis Lacon was the third time victorious.

But such of the Phigalenses as escaped in this battle thought proper to consult the oracle of the Delphic Apollo, respecting their re-establishment in Phigalia: and the Pythian deity answered them, that if they endeavoured to return to Phigalia by themselves alone, they would not succeed in their attempt; but that if they took a hundred chosen men from Oresthasion, these hundred would fall in battle, but they would by their means recover Phigalia. The Oresthasians therefore, as soon as they understood the answer of the oracle, endeavoured to rival each other in contending to be chosen on this occasion, and to partake of the expedition against Phigalia; and when they encountered the Lacedæmonian guard, in every respect verified the prediction of the oracle: for they died fighting valiantly; and having driven away the Spartans, though with the loss of their own lives, restored the Phigalenses to their country. But Phigalia is situated on a steep eminence, and the greater part of the wall is built under the rocks. However, when you have ascended this eminence, you will arrive at a smooth surface, in which there is a temple of Diana the Saviour, and a stone statue of the goddess in an upright position. From this temple they send a solemn pomp after the manner of their ancestors. But in the gymnasium there is a statue of Mercury resembling a man clothed. This statue, however, does not end in feet, but in a square figure. There is also a temple here of Bacchus, who is called by the natives Acratophoros. The inferior parts of this statue cannot be seen, on account of the laurel and ivy leaves with which they are covered. But those parts of the statue which are visible, shine in consequence of being rubbed over with cinnabar: and cinnabar is said to be found by the Iberians togther with gold.

CHAPTER XL.

In the forum of the Phigalenses there is a statue of the pancratiast Arrhachion, which is in other respects ancient, and particularly as to its figure. The feet are at no great distance from each other; and the hands adhere to the sides, and reach as far as to the hips. This statue is made of stone; and they say, that there was an inscription on it, which has become obliterated by time. Arrhachion was twice victorious in the Olympic games prior to the fifty-fourth Olympiad; and these victories were obtained, as well by the just decisions of the presidents of the games, as by the virtue of Arrhachion. For as he was contending for the olive crown with the only antagonist that was left, his antagonist endeavoured to prevent him from gaining the victory by entangling him with his feet, and grasping his neck with his hands. But Arrhachion broke one of his adversary's toes; and at the very moment that he expired, being strangled to death, his adversary, through the pain of his broken toe, fell to the ground. The Eleans therefore crowned, and proclaimed the dead body of Arrhachion victorious. I know, too, that a similar judgment was passed by the Argives upon Creugas the Epidamnian pugilist. For the Argives crowned his dead body in the Nemean games, because his adversary Damoxenus the Syracusan violated the compact which had been formed between them. For previous to their contending with each other, they had agreed, in the hearing of all the spectators, to receive each other's blows on one side only: and at that time pugilists had not a sharp leather thong tied about the wrist of each of their hands, but they fought with thongs made of a bull's hide, which were platted together by a certain ancient art, and bound under the hollow of their hands. These thongs they called Meilichai, which being bound in this manner left the fingers naked. Creugas therefore first wounded Damoxenus on the head; and then Damoxenus ordered Creugas to keep his hand unmoved. This he accordingly did, and Damoxenus with his fingers stretched out struck Creugas on the side: and such was the hardness of his nails and the violence of the blow, that his hand pierced his side, seized on his bowels, and drawing them outwards gave instant death to Creugas. But the Argives drove Damoxenus out of the stadium, because he had transgressed the compact, by striking his adversary with many blows instead of one. They gave therefore the victory to dead Creugas, and made a statue of him in Argos, which is even at present to be seen in the temple of Lycæan Apollo.

CHAPTER XLI.

In the forum of the Phigalenses there is a common sepulchre of that chosen band of Oresthasians which we have mentioned before: and to these, as to heroes, they perform funeral sacrifices every year. But the river which is called Lymax pours itself into the Neda, and flows near Phigalia. They say that this name was given to the river on account of the purifications of Rhea. For as soon as the goddess was delivered of Jupiter, the nymphs purified her from the pollution attending delivery, and threw the sordes into this river. Homer confirms the truth of this account, when he says that the Greeks purified themselves from the corruption of a pestilence, and threw the dregs into the sea. But the fountains of Neda are in the mountain Cerausius, which is a part of Lycæus. In that part, too, of Neda, which is nearest the city of the Phigalenses, boys cut off their hair as a sacrifice to the river. And those parts of Neda which are near the sea are full of small ships. But the Mæander flows with the most winding stream of any river that we are acquainted with, bending itself upwards, and again pouring along in numerous windings. The second to this in the obliquity of its stream is the Neda. At the distance of about twelve stadia beyond Phigalia there are hot baths; and the Lymax falls into the Neda not far from these. Where these streams meet there is a temple of Eurynome, holy from ancient institutions, and which is difficult of access, through the roughness of the place in which it stands. About this temple there are many cypress-trees, which are likewise close to each other. The common people of the Phigalenses believe that Eurynome is an appellation of Diana: but such as are curious in investigating antiquities say, that Eurynome is the daughter of Ocean, of whom also Homer makes mention in the Iliad, and says that Vulcan received her together with Thetis. On one day in every year they open the temple of Eurynome; but they do not open it at any other time. On that day they sacrifice to her both publicly and privately. I had not however an opportunity of being present when it was opened, nor could I see the statue of Eurynome. I have heard the Phigalenses say, that the statue is bound with golden chains, and that it resembles a woman as far as to the top of the thighs, but that the remaining parts resemble those of a fish. A figure of this kind, therefore, cannot with any probability be ascribed to Diana.

Phigalia, too, is surrounded with mountains; on the left hand by Cotylion, and on the right by the mountain Elaion. The mountain Cotylion is about forty stadia distant from the city. In it there is a place called Bassæ, and a temple of Apollo *the helper*, the roof of which is of stone. This temple surpasses all the temples in Peloponnesus, except that which is in Tegea, for the beauty of the stone from which the roof is built, and the symmetry of its construction. But Apollo was thus denominated, because he gave them assistance when they were afflicted with a pestilence; just as among the Athenians he is called *Alexicacos*, because he averted from them a pestilent disease. The Phigalenses, however, did not experience the favour of the god in the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians, nor indeed at any other time than this. This is evinced by both these appellations of Apollo, which have a similitude of signification; and Ictinus, the architect of the temple of Phigalia, was contemporary with Pericles, and built the Parthenon for the Athenians. But I have before shown that this statue of Apollo is in the forum of the Megalopolitans. In Cotylion there is a fountain; and the historian, who says that the river Limax commences from this fountain, relates what he has neither himself beheld, not even has heard from those that have seen the fountain. For I have both seen the river and water flowing in no great abundance from the fountain in Cotylion: and this water entirely disappears under the ground, within a small distance from the fountain. It did not however occur to me, to investigate in what part of Arcadia the fountain of Lymax is contained. Above the temple of Apollo the helper there is a place called Cotylon, and in it a temple of Venus without a roof, and a statue of the goddess.

CHAPTER XLII.

But the other mountain Elaion is about thirty stadia distant from Phigalia. Here there is a sacred cavern of Ceres *the black*. And the particulars, indeed, which are reported by the Thelpusians of the connexion of Neptune with Ceres, agree with the relations of the Phigalenses in this particular. The Phigalenses, however, do not say that Ceres was delivered of a horse; but they report, that she brought forth that divinity who is called by the Arcadians Despoina; that she assumed a black garment, both on account of her anger towards Neptune, and her grief for the ravishment of Proserpine; and that she came to this cavern, and concealed herself in it for some time. When therefore all the fruits of the earth were corrupted, and a great part of the human race was destroyed by famine, the retreat of Ceres was concealed from all the other gods; but Pan coming to Arcadia, and wandering upon different mountains, at last met with Ceres on the mountain Elaion in this figure, and thus clothed. But Jupiter understanding this from Pan, sent the Parcæ to Ceres, who at length was persuaded by them to lay aside her anger, and banish her grief. The Phigalenses further report, that they considered this cavern as sacred to Ceres on this account, and that they dedicated to her a wooden statue, which was made in the following manner: The figure of a woman in every other part except the head, was represented sitting on a rock; but she had the head and mane of a horse, and the images of dragons and other wild beasts were represented as naturally belonging to her head. A garment with which she was clothed, reached to the extremities of her feet; and in one of her hands she held a dolphin, and in the other a dove. Why the statue was made after this manner, will be obvious to a man who is not destitute of sagacity, and who is endued with a good memory. But they say that she was called *black*, because she clothed herself in a black garment. They cannot however tell either the name of the person by whom the statue was made, or in what manner it was destroyed by fire.

But the Phigalenses, having lost this ancient statue, did not dedicate another statue to the goddess, and neglected a great part of the ceremonies pertaining to her festivals and sacrifices, in consequence of which the land became barren; and on their supplicating the Pythian deity, he answered them as follows: " Azanian Arcadians, who inhabit Phigalea, the concealed cavern of horse-delivered Ceres, you are come hither inquiring a remedy for distressful famine, you who alone are twice Nomades, who alone are fed with rustic food. Ceres has deprived you of your food, and she will again compel you to feed on the sweet beech-tree and acorns, taking from you the gifts of your ancestors, and your ancient honours; and still more, she will compel you to devour each other, and your own children, unless you appease her anger by public libations, and adorn with divine honours the profundities of her cavern." The Phigalenses, having received this answer, venerated Ceres in a more august manner than before, and inquired of Onatas Æginetes, the son of Micon, how much money they should give him to make a statue of Ceres for them. Among the Pergamenians there is a brazen Apollo, made by this Onatas, which is admirable in the greatest degree, both for its magnitude, and the art displayed in its fabrication. This man, therefore, finding at that time either a picture, or an imitation of a wooden statue, made this brazen statue for the Phigalenses; and it is said that he fashioned the greater part of it agreeably to a vision in a dream. This statue, too, was made by him after the irruption of the Medes into Greece. And that this is true, is evident from hence, that Xerxes came into Europe at the time when Gelon the son of Dinomenes tyrannized over the Syracusans, and the rest of Sicily; and after the death of Gelon, his brother Hiero succeeded to the empire. Hiero, too, dying before he had dedicated his offerings to Olympian Jupiter, for his equestrian victories, his son Dinomenes dedicated them instead of his father.

These offerings likewise were made by Onatas; and there are inscriptions in Olympia, among which is the following, on the offering of Dinomenes:

Hiero, who conquer'd in thy games august,
Olympian Jove! this gift to thee had vow'd.
Once with the four-yoked car he gained the prize,
But with the vaulting courser twice; and hence
His son Dinomenes devoted here
This gift, in memory of his Syracusan sire.

But another of the epigrams is to this effect:

Onatas, Micon's son, this statue framed,
Who in the island of Ægina dwelt.

This Onatas was contemporary with the Athenian Hegias, and the Argive Agelades. I went indeed to Phigalia, principally for the sake of seeing this statue of Ceres; and though I did not sacrifice to the goddess any animals, yet, agreeably to the paternal rites of the inhabitants, I sacrificed to her planted trees, the fruit of the vine, the wax of bee-hives, and wool; not such wool indeed as is purified for the purpose of making garments, but such as was yet full of the sordes of sheep. All these they place on an altar, which is raised before the cavern, and pour upon them oil; and in this manner they sacrifice both privately and publicly every year. A female priestess presides over the sacred rites, and together with her the youngest of the sacrificers, whom they call Hierothytæ, and who are three of the citizens. About the cavern there is a grove of oaks, and a cold water ascends from the earth. But the statue which was made by Onatas neither exists at present, nor is it known by the multitude of the Phigalenses whether or not it ever existed. An elderly man, however, whom I happened to meet, told me that three ages before his time, a stone from the roof of the cavern fell on the statue, and broke it so as entirely to destroy its shape. And indeed even at present, that part of the roof is very apparent from whence the stone fell.

CHAPTER XLIII.

But my discourse requires after this, that I should pass on to Pallantium, and describe whatever it contains worthy of notice, and on what account the emperor Antoninus made it a city instead of a village, gave the inhabitants their freedom, and an immunity from paying tribute. They say then, that a man whose name was Evander was the best warrior of all the Arcadians, and that he was the son of Mercury and a nymph the daughter of Ladon. This man being sent into a colony, and leading an army of Arcadians from Pallantium, built a city near the river Tiber. This city is at present a part of the Roman empire; but was called Pallantium after the name of an Arcadian town, by Evander and the Arcadians that followed him. But in after times the name was changed, by taking away the letters *l* and *n*. On account therefore of the particulars which we have related, the Pallantienses received gifts from the emperor Antoninus, who indeed was so benevolent towards them, that he never was the voluntary cause of the Romans warring on them. Besides, when the Moors who inhabit the greatest part of Libya, and who live according to their own laws, as being Nomades, and who besides this are so much the more powerful in war than the other Scythian nations, because they do not ride to battle in chariots, but on horseback, both they and their wives;—when these people began a war, Antoninus drove them entirely out of their country, and compelled them to fly to the extremities of Libya, to the mountain Atlas, and to the people that dwell near Atlas. But he took from the Brigantians in Britannia a great part of their land, because they had made hostile incursions on the Venuvians who were the allies of the Romans.

Besides, when the Lycian and Carian cities, and likewise

Coos and Rhodes, were destroyed by an earthquake, the emperor Antoninus restored them at a prodigious expense, and repeopled them with great alacrity. But the money which he gave both to Grecians and Barbarians, whose cities had been ruined by earthquakes, and the magnificent manner in which he adorned Greece, Ionia, and Carthage, have been accurately related by other writers. This emperor, too, left behind him the following monument of his liberality: It was a law, that those who belonged to cities in subjection to the Romans, and who had foreign and Grecian children, should not leave such children their heirs, but should either leave a part of it to the treasury of the emperor, or to some Roman citizens with whom they had no connexion. Antoninus, however, abrogated this law, and permitted them to make their own children their heirs; as he was one who preferred the character of a philanthropist, to that of the guardian of a law relative to the acquisition of wealth. This emperor was called by the Romans *the pious*, because he appeared to venerate a divine nature in the highest degree. But, in my opinion, the elder Cyrus deserved to be called *the father* of mankind. This emperor Antoninus left as his successor a son of the same name, who subdued by the power of his arms the Germans, who were the most warlike and numerous of all the Barbarians in Europe, together with the nation of the Sauromatians, who had provoked him by their injurious conduct, and by beginning the war.

CHAPTER XLIV.

It is now however time that I should relate what remains of the Arcadian affairs. There is a road, then, from Megalopolis to Pallantium and Tegea, which leads to that place which is called *the Bank*, or *Causeway*. Along this road there is a place which is denominated Ladocea, from Ladocus the son of Echemus. Formerly the city Hæmoniæ stood next to these, which was built by Hæmon the son of Lycaon. And even at present there is a place which is called Hæmoniæ. After Hæmoniæ, on the right hand of the road, among other remains of the city Oresthasius there are columns of a temple of Diana, who was called *the priestess.* But as you proceed in a straight line from Hæmoniæ, you will first of all arrive at Aphrodisium, and afterwards at Athenæum. On the left hand of this road there is a temple of Minerva, which contains a stone statue. At the distance of about twenty stadia from Athenæum there are ruins of Asea. There is a hill here which was formerly a tower; and the vestiges of its walls remain even now. But at about the distance of five stadia from Asea, and not far from the Alpheus, is the fountain of the Eurotas. Near the fountain, too, of the Alpheus there is a temple of the Mother of the Gods, which is without a roof; and in the same place there are two lions of stone. The water of the Eurotas mingles itself with that of the Alpheus, and both these rivers flow together to the distance of about twenty stadia: but falling in this place into a chasm, the Eurotas rises again in the country of the Lacedæmonians, but the Alpheus in the fountains of Megalopolis.

But there is an ascent from Asea to the mountain Boreum, upon the summit of which there are vestiges of a temple. Ulysses, when he returned from Troy, is said to have raised this temple to Minerva the Saviour. And in that place which they call *the Causeway,* the boundaries between the Megalopolitans, Tegeatæ, and Pallantienses are contained. As you turn likewise to the left hand from the Causeway, you will arrive at the Pallantic plain. But in Pallantium there is a temple, and there are stone statues in it of Pallas and Evander. There is also a temple of Proserpine and Ceres; and not far from hence there is a statue of Polybius.

But on the summit of that hill which is above the city, and which in former times they used for a tower, there is yet a temple of the gods, who are called *Pure.* By these gods they swear in things of the greatest moment. And they are either ignorant of the names of these gods, or else, knowing them, they are unwilling to indicate them. It may however be inferred, that they are called *Pure*, because Pallas did not sacrifice to them in the same manner as his father sacrificed to Lycæan Jupiter. On the right hand of the Causeway is the Manthuric plain, which is in the boundaries of the Tegeatæ, and is about fifty stadia distant from Tegea. On the right hand, too, of this road there is a mountain of no great magnitude, which is called Cresius, and in which there is a temple of Aphneus. For, according to the Tegeatæ, Mars had connexion with Aerope the daughter of Cepheus, and the grand-daughter of Aleus. And Aerope, indeed, died in child-bed; but the boy of which she was delivered clung to his dead mother, and drew from her breasts milk in abundance. This circumstance happened by the will of Mars; and on account of it they called the god Aphneus: but the name of the boy was, they say, Aeropus. But near the road to Tegea there is a fountain called Leuconia from Leucone, who is said to have been the daughter of Aphidas: and not far from the city of the Tegeatæ there is a sepulchre.

CHAPTER XLV.

The Tegeatæ indeed say, that this region was alone denominated from Tegeatas the son of Lycaon, and that the inhabitants dwelt in separate towns, viz. the Gareatæ, Phylacenses, Caphyates, Corythenses, Potachides, Manthurenses, and Echeuethenses. They add farther, that while Aphidas reigned, the Aphidantes formed the ninth people who inhabited a separate town. Aleus, however, built the city which remains at present. The Tegeatæ, too, participated in common the glory of the Arcadians in the war against Troy, in the Persian war, and in the engagement between the Dipœenses and the Lacedæmonians. But the renown peculiar to the Tegeatæ alone consisted in this, that Ancæus the son of Lycurgus, though he was wounded, sustained the fury of the Calydonian boar, and Atalanta was the first that pierced this boar with her arrows, and on this account received as the reward of her valour the head and skin of the boar. But when the sons of Hercules returned to Peloponnesus, Echemus the son of Aeropus, and who belonged to the Tegeatæ, engaged alone with Hyllus, and vanquished him in fight. The Tegeatæ, too, the first of the Arcadians, fought with and conquered the Lacedæmonians, and made a great number of them prisoners. But Aleus built the ancient temple of Minerva for the Tegeatæ; and some time after they built a new temple to the goddess, large, and worthy of being inspected. For the former temple was destroyed by fire, when Diophantus was the Athenian archon, and in the year which followed the ninety-sixth Olympiad, in which the Elean Eupolemus was victorious in the stadium. But the temple which remains at present far surpasses all the temples in Peloponnesus, both for its construction and magnitude.

The first ornament of this temple is a triple series of columns; the first of which are of the Doric order; the second of the Corinthian; and the third without the temple are of the Ionic order. The architect of this temple is said to have been the Parian Scopas, who made statues for many parts of ancient Greece, and for places about Ionia and Caria. On the front part of the roof, the hunting of the Calydonian boar is represented. The boar occupies the middle part; and on one side Atalanta, Meleager, Theseus, Telamon, Peleus, Pollux, and Iolaus, who was the companion of Hercules in most of his labours, stand; and besides these the sons of Thesteus, and the brothers of Althæa, Prothous, and Cometes: but on the other side Ancæus is represented wounded, and lifting his axe, and Epochus supporting him. Near him stand Castor, Amphiaraus the son of Oicles, and Hippothous the son of Cercyon, the grandson of Agamedes, and the great grandson of Stymphalus. The last person that is represented is Pirithous. But in the back part of the roof, the single combat of Telephus and Achilles in the plains of Caicus is represented.

CHAPTER XLVI.

But the Roman emperor Augustus carried away with him the ancient statue of Minerva Alea, and the teeth of the Calydonian boar, when he conquered Anthony and his allies, among whom were all the Arcadians, except the Mantinenses. It appears, however, that Augustus was not the first who took from the vanquished things dedicated to the gods; for this was usual with conquerors from a very early period. Thus when Troy was taken, and the Greeks divided the spoil amongst themselves, Sthenelus the son of Capaneus obtained a wooden statue of Hercean Jupiter; and many ages after, when the Dorienses migrated into Sicily, Antiphemus who built Gela, having plundered Omphace, a small city of the Sicanians, took away with him to Gela a statue made by Dædalus. We know, too, that Xerxes the son of Darius, and king of the Persians, besides the ornaments which he carried away from the city of the Athenians, took from Brauron the statue of Brauronian Diana; and the same person, accusing the Milesians of designedly and at the same time basely engaging with the Athenians in a naval battle, took from them a brazen Apollo which was among the Branchidæ; and which many years after Seleucus sent back again to the Milesians. So again among the Argives at the present time, the wooden statues which were taken from Tiryntha are replaced in the temples of Juno and Eleus Apollo. The Cyziceni, too, when they conquered the Proconnesians, and compelled them to dwell in their country, carried away from Proconnesus the statue of the mother Dindymene. This statue was made of gold except the face, which was fashioned from the teeth of river horses instead of ivory. Augustus, therefore, did no more than what both Greeks and Barbarians had done long before him. But the Romans have placed the statue of Minerva Alea in the entrance of the forum which was raised by Augustus. This statue is entirely made of ivory, and was produced by the art of Endius. Those, too, to whose care these curiosities are committed, say that one of the boar's teeth is broken off. But the other statue is dedicated in the temple of Bacchus, which stands in the gardens of Cæsar; and its circumference does not exceed the length of a hand.

CHAPTER XLVII.

But the statue which is at present in Tegea, was brought from a town of the Manthurienses who worship a goddess called Hippia, because in the battle of the gods against the giants she attacked Enceladus in a two-yoked car. However, this goddess is universally called Alea by the other Greeks, and by the Peloponnesians. On one side of this statue of Minerva Alea Æsculapius stands, and on the other Hygia, of Pentelican stone, and the works of the Parian Scopas. In the temple there are offerings which deserve to be mentioned: for there is the skin of the Calydonian boar, which is now rotten through length of time, and entirely bare of bristles. Those fetters, too, are suspended here, except such as have been destroyed by time, with which the Lacedæmonian captives being bound, dug the plain for the Tegeatæ. It likewise contains the sacred bed of Minerva, and an image of the goddess similar to a picture; and besides this, the shield of a Tegean woman, whose name was *Chera*, or *the widow*. Of this woman we shall afterwards make mention. A girl acts as priestess to Minerva. How long she preserves her virginity I cannot tell; but she abdicates the sacerdotal office before she arrives at the age of puberty. They say, that the altar was made for the goddess by Melampos the son of Amythaon. On the altar Rhea is carved, and the nymph Oenoe holding an infant Jupiter: and four nymphs stand on each side of her, viz. on one side Glauce, Neda, Thisoa, and Anthracia; and on the other, Ida, Agno, Alcinoe, and Phrixa. There are statues here, too, of the Muses and Mnemosyne.

Not far from this temple there is a heap of earth, upon which they celebrate certain games, called Alaia from Minerva Alea, and Alotia, because they took many of the Lacedæmonians alive in the battle. But in that part of the temple which is towards the north there is a fountain; near which they say Auge was ravished by Hercules. This account, however, of the affair differs from that given by Hecatæus. At the distance of about three stadia from this fountain there is a temple of Hermes Æpytus. The Tegeatæ, too, have another temple of Minerva Poliatis. A priest enters into this once every year. They call it *the temple of defence*, and say that Minerva, as a gift to Cepheus the son of Aleus, caused Tegea to remain for ever unconquered, and that she presented him, as the means of preserving the city, with hair cut off from the head of Medusa. But of Diana *Hegemone*, or *the leader*, they report as follows: Aristomelidas tyrannized over the Orchomenians in Arcadia. He having gained by some means or other a

Tegean virgin, committed her to the care of one Chronius; but the virgin, before she was brought to the tyrant, slew herself through fear and shame. Diana after this excited Chronius by nocturnal visions to destroy Aristomelidas; which having accomplished, he fled to Tegea, and raised a temple to Diana.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

In the forum, which is for the most part in the form of a tile, there is a temple of Venus which is called THE TEMPLE IN A TILE, and a statue of stone. There are two pillars here with statues on them. On the one, stand Antiphanes, Crœsus, Tyronidas, and Pyrias, who gave laws to the Tegeatæ, and on this account were thus honoured by them. But on the other pillar Iasius stands, in his left hand holding a horse, and in his right a branch of a palm-tree. They say, that Iasius conquered with the horse in Olympia, at that time in which the Theban Hercules instituted the Olympic games. But on what account the victor in Olympia came to be crowned with the leaves of the wild olive, has been explained by me in my account of the Elean affairs; and it will be shown by me hereafter, why they are crowned in Delphos with laurel. They think proper in Isthmus to crown the conquerors with pine-leaves, and in Nemea with parsley, on account of what happened to Palæmon and Archemoras. A crown of palm, indeed, is given in most games; and every where the victors hold a branch of palm in their right hands. And this took place on the following account: They say that Theseus, when he returned from Crete to Delos, instituted games in honour of Apollo, and crowned the victors with palm. And, indeed, Homer mentions the Delian palm in the Odyssey, where he represents Ulysses as imploring the assistance of the daughter of Alcinous. In the forum, too, of the Tegeatæ there is a statue of Mars, which is carved on a pillar, and which they call *Gunaikothoias*. For during the Lacedæmonian war, when Charillus king of the Lacedæmonians marched against the Arcadians, the women took up arms, and stationed themselves under that hill, which at present they call *the Guardian*. But when the armies came to engage, and the men on each side gave many illustrious specimens of valour, the women rushed from their retreat, and caused the Lacedæmonians to fly. A woman, however, named Marpessa surpassed all the rest in valour: and this woman was surnamed *the widow*.

They say that Charillus was taken in this engagement; and that being dismissed without any ransom, and swearing to the Tegeatæ, that he would never more lead an army against them, he afterwards violated his oath. But the women after this engagement sacrificed for this victory to Mars separate from the men, and would not suffer the men to partake of the victims which they offered; and from this circumstance Mars was denominated *Gunaikothoias*. There is also an altar raised here to Jupiter *the perfect*, and a quandrangular statue. For the Arcadians appear to me to be particularly pleased with the square figure. In the same forum, too, there are sepulchres of Tegeatas the son of Lycaon, and of his wife Mæra, who they say was the daughter of Atlas, and who is mentioned by Homer in that part of the Odyssey, where Ulysses relates to Alcinous the particulars respecting the way to Hades, and the souls which he beheld there. But the Tegeatæ call Lucina (for they have a temple and statue of her in the forum) ON THE KNEES; because when Aleus delivered his daughter to Nauplius, he commanded those who led her away to throw her into the sea: but as they were leading her along, she fell *on her knees*, and was delivered of a son in the very place in which the temple of Lucina stands. This account of the affair, however, differs from their relation who say, that Auge was delivered without her father knowing any thing of the matter, and that she concealed Telephus in the mountain Parthenion, who was suckled there by a hind. And this is the account given by the Tegeatæ. Near the temple of Lucina there is an altar sacred to Earth; and not far from it there are two pillars of white stone. On one of these there is a statue of Polybius the son of Lycortas; and on the other of Elatus, who was one of the sons of Arcas.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Not far from the forum there is a theatre, together with the bases of brazen statues; for the statues no longer exist. There is an elegy on one of these bases, which signifies that the statue which stood on it was that of Philopœmen. The Greeks preserve the memory of this man in the highest degree, both for the sake of the advice which he gave them, and his bold undertakings. As to the dignity of his origin, his father was Craugis a Megalopolitan, who was not inferior in rank to any of that city. But Craugis dying while Philopœmen was yet a child, Cleander the Mantinean, took care of his education. This Cleander, flying from Mantinea, became an inhabitant of Megalopolis, and used the house of Craugis in those calamitous times, as if it had been his father's house. Philopœmen, among other preceptors, had Megalophanes and Ecdelus, who, they say, were the disciples of Arcesilaus. Philopœmen, too, in the magnitude and strength of his body, was not inferior to any one; but the form of his face was bad. He despised all contests where crowns were the reward of victory; applied himself to the cultivation of the land which he possessed; and was averse to the hunting of wild beasts. The works of the illustrious Grecian sophists are said to have been read by him, together with such as treated on war, or contained any thing pertaining to the art of commanding an army. He imitated, too, in all his actions the counsels and conduct of Epaminondas, but he was not able to equal him in every respect. For Epaminondas had a beautiful soul, and was gentle in the highest degree; but Philopœmen was given to anger. But when Megalopolis was besieged by Cleomenes, Philopœmen was not at all alarmed at the unexpected calamity, but brought with safety into Messene two thirds of the men, that were in the flower of their age, together with the women and children; for at that time the Messenians were the friends and allies of the Arcadians.

When, therefore, the Spartan king exhorted a great part of the exiles to return to their country on certain conditions (because he now repented of his cruelty to the Megalopolitans), Philopœmen persuaded all the citizens in common to recover their country by force of arms, rather than by forming a league with Cleomenes. A battle therefore ensued in Sellasia, between the Spartans led by Cleomenes, and the Achaians and Arcadians from all their cities, together with an army brought by Antigonus from Macedonia. In this engagement Philopœmen commanded the horse: but when he saw that the strength of the battle consisted in the foot, he voluntarily fought on foot; and while he was thus valiantly fighting in heavy armour, was wounded in both his thighs. In consequence of this being prevented from acting with his usual vigour, he inclined his knees, and forced himself to move forward, till the spear was broken by the motion of his feet. After this, when the Lacedæmonians and Cleomenes were vanquished, he was carried to his camp, and the body of the spear was extracted from one of his thighs, and the head of it from the other. But Antigonus, as soon as he was acquainted with the daring courage of Philopœmen, earnestly endeavoured to take him with him into Macedonia. Philopœmen, however, rejected the solicitations of Antigonus, passed over into Crete, which was at that time engaged in a civil war, and led their mercenary troops. After this he returned to Megalopolis, and had the command given to him of the Achaian horse. Here, by his conduct, he rendered the horse which he commanded the best of all the Achaian and other horse, that were in the same expedition. When the Ætolians, too, in the battle at the river Larisus, assisted the Eleans on account of their alliance to them, Philopœmen first of all slew with his own hand Damophantus, the general of the enemy's horse, and afterwards vanquished the Ætolian and Elean horse.

CHAPTER L.

In consequence, therefore, of the Achaians looking to Philopœmen, and acting in every respect agreeable to his directions, he changed the armour of the foot under his command. For previous to this they used small spears, and more oblong shields, like the *Celtic thureoi*, or the Persian *gerra;* but he persuaded them to cover their bodies with coats of mail, and their legs with greaves, and to use Argolic shields, and large spears. Besides, when Machanidas tyrannized in Lacedæmon, and the Spartans, led by him, began a new war with the Achaians, Philopœmen was chosen the general of the Achaians. A battle, therefore, ensuing near Mantinea, the light armed troops of the Lacedæmonians vanquished the light armed forces of the Achaians, and Machanidas pursued them as they fled. But here Philopœmen with his phalanx drove back the heavy armed foot of the Lacedæmonians, and meeting with Machanidas as he was returning from his pursuit of the Achaians, slew him. The Lacedæmonians, however, in being vanquished, were more fortunate than if they had been victorious; for they were freed from subjection to a tyrant. Not long after this, when the Argives celebrated their Nemean games, Philopœmen happened to be present during the contention of the harpers. And then Pylades the Megalopolitan, who was the most renowned of the harpers, and who had borne away the Pythian palm, recited the following line out of those verses of Timotheus the Milesian, which are called Persæ:

"Freedom's great ornament to Greece he gave."

But all the Greeks when he recited this verse cast their eyes on Philopœmen, and by a prodigious clapping of their hands, signified that the verse alone referred to him. I am informed that a similar circumstance happened to Themistocles in Olympia: for when he entered into the theatre all the spectators rose up. But Philip the son of Demetrius and king of the Macedonians, who destroyed the Sicyonian Aratus by poison, sent certain persons to Megalopolis, for the purpose of slaying Philopœmen. These, however, failing in their design, Philip procured himself the hatred of all Greece.

But when the Thebans had vanquished in battle the Megarenses, and had almost taken the Megaric walls, the consternation of the citizens was dissipated by the arrival of Philopœmen, and their enemies were so much terrified that they immediately abandoned their enterprize, and led back their army. In Lacedæmon, however, another tyrant Nabis arose, who molested the Messenians the first of all the Peloponnesians by his hostile incursions; and unexpectedly attacking them by night, he took all the city except the tower. But Philopœmen advancing with an army to the assistance of the Messenians on the following day, Nabis abandoned Messene on certain conditions. Philopœmen, too, when the time of his command was expired, and new commanders were chosen by the Achaians, again passed over into Crete, in order to assist the Gortynians in their war. But the Arcadians being offended with his journey to Crete, he returned from thence, at the very time in which the Romans took up arms against Nabis; and the Romans preparing a fleet for this purpose, Philopœmen, through his alacrity in warlike concerns, was desirous of engaging in this expedition. However, as he was entirely ignorant of naval affairs, he ascended into a leaky three-oared galley. As soon as this was perceived by the Romans and their allies, they recollected those verses of Homer in his catalogue of the ships, in which he represents the Arcadians as ignorant of navigation. A few days after this naval battle, Philopœmen and the forces that were under his command, taking advantage of a very dark night, attacked and burnt the camps of the Lacedæmonians at Gythium. But here Nabis circumvented Philopœmen and his forces in an unfavourable situation. These forces of Philopœmen were good warriors, but were not many in number. Philopœmen, upon this, changed the order of his troops as they were retreating, and quickly gained a situation more favourable than that of the enemy. In consequence of this, Nabis being vanquished, and many of the Lacedæmonians slain on that night, the reputation of Philopœmen was increased among the Greeks. After this Nabis made a league with the Romans for a certain time; but before this time was expired, he was slain by a Calydonian, who came to him under a pretext of assisting him in his wars (for he had been suborned by the Ætolians), but proved himself in reality to be his enemy.

CHAPTER LI.

But Philopœmen making an irruption into Sparta, compelled the Lacedæmonians to join themselves to the council of the Achaians. And not long after this Titus Flaminius, who was the general of the Romans in the war against the Greeks, and Diophanes the Megalopolitan, and the son of Diæus, being chosen generals of the Achaian forces, marched with an army against the Lacedæmonians, whom they accused of engaging in new attempts prejudicial to the Romans. But Philopœmen, though he was then but a private man, took care to shut the gates against the enemy. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, on account of this action, and for his successful valour against both their tyrants, gave him the house of Nabis, which was worth more than one hundred talents. Philopœmen, however, despised the wealthy present, and exhorted the Lacedæmonians to conciliate to themselves the friendship of the most powerful person of the Achaic council by gifts, instead of endeavouring to purchase his esteem. They say, that the person he alluded to in this speech was Timolaus. But when he was again chosen as general by the Achaians, and the Lacedæmonians were at that time involved in a civil war, he expelled from Peloponnesus three hundred persons, who were the principal authors of the sedition, and sold about three thousand of the Hilotes. Besides this he demolished the wall of Sparta, and forbade the youth those exercises in which they employed themselves agreeable to the laws of Lycurgus; and ordered the Achaian youth to engage in them. The Romans, however, afterwards restored to the Spartan youth their accustomed exercises. But when Manilius and the Romans under his command vanquished at the Thermopylæ Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, who was called Nicator, and Aristænus the Megalopolitan exhorted the Achaians to comply in every respect with the orders of the Romans, without the least opposition—then Philopœmen beheld Aristænus with an angry countenance, and told him that he hastened the fate of Greece.

Manilius after this endeavoured to bring back the exiled Lacedæmonians, but was opposed in this attempt by Philopœmen: but after his departure Philopœmen permitted the exiles to return to Sparta. Philopœmen, however, suffered the just punishment of his too great contempt of others. For when he was chosen by the Achaians the eighth time general of their forces, he reproached one Lycortas, a man by no means obscure, for suffering himself to be taken alive by the enemy; and, as there was then a disagreement between the Messenians and Achaians, Philopœmen sent Lycortas with an army to depopulate the land of the Messenians. The third day after this, Philopœmen, though he was seized with a violent fever, and was now eighty years of age, hastened to join himself to Lycortas. He followed Lycortas, therefore, with about sixty horse, and light-armed foot. Lycortas, however, and his forces, who had neither accomplished any thing great against the Messenians, nor sustained themselves any loss, returned safe home: but Philopœmen being wounded in the head in the engagement, and falling from his horse, was taken by the Messenians alive, and brought to Messene. Here an assembly being immediately called, there was a great diversity of opinions respecting the sentence which ought to be passed on Philopœmen. But Dinocrates, and the most wealthy of the Messenians, were of opinion, that he should be put to death. The common people, however, contended with the utmost eagerness for his safety, calling him by epithets, even more illustrious than that of *the father of Greece*. But Dinocrates, contrary to the will of the Messenians, destroyed him by poison. Lycortas, however, not long after collecting together a band of Arcadians and Achaians, the common people of the Messenians immediately surrendered themselves to the Arcadians, and punished all those that had been the authors of Philopœmen's death, except Dinocrates, who slew himself: and the Arcadians carried the bones of Philopœmen to Megalopolis.

CHAPTER LII.

Philopœmen, indeed, may be called the last of the Greeks. For Miltiades the son of Cimon, by vanquishing the Barbarians at Marathon, and leading an army against the Medes, was the first, and Philopœmen the son of Craugis was the last, that benefited Greece in common. But those, who prior to Miltiades, gave illustrious specimens of valour, were Codrus the son of Melanthus, the Spartan Polydorus, the Messenian Aristomenes, and whoever else deserves to rank among these. However, each of these preserved his own country, but not one of them appears to have been the saviour of all Greece. After Miltiades, Leonidas the son of Anaxandrides, and Themistocles the son of Neocles, drove Xerxes out of Greece; the latter in two naval battles, and the former in the engagement at Thermopylæ. But with respect to Aristides the son of Lysimachus, and Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus, who commanded the Greeks at Platæa, the latter of these cannot be called the benefactor of Greece, on account of his betraying the Greeks; nor yet the former, because through his means the Grecian islands came to be under contribution, though before his time all Greece was exempt from paying tribute. Xanthippus the son of Ariphron destroyed the fleet of the Medes, when Leotychides reigned over the Spartans; and Cimon accomplished many things for the Greeks, and such as deserve to be emulated. But all those who had command in the

Peloponnesian war against the Athenians, and particularly the most illustrious of these, may be called the parricides and inundators of Greece.

Indeed, when Greece was in a very afflicted condition, Conon the son of Timotheus, and Epaminondas the son of Polymnis, restored it to some degree of vigour; the former by expelling the guards from the islands and places near the sea, which Harmostas and the Decurions had established; and the latter by driving them from cities remote from the sea. But Epaminondas rendered Greece more illustrious by the accession of two cities by no means obscure, viz. Messene and the Arcadian Megalopolis. Leosthenes, too, and Aratus, may be ranked among the benefactors of all Greece. For Leosthenes brought safe into Greece in ships about fifty thousand mercenary soldiers, who paid tribute to the Persians, and this even contrary to the will of Alexander. And the benefits which Greece obtained through Aratus may be known from my account of the Sicyonian affairs. But there is the following epigram in Tegea upon Philopœmen:

To the Arcadian Philopœmen, famed
Through Greece, for virtue, and for warlike skill,
Who by his untamed strength, and wise advice,
Accomplish'd many deeds of high renown,
Sparta two trophies for his valour raised,
Which freed her from two tyrants' galling yoke.
And Tegea, which blameless freedom gain'd
Through Craugis' mighty son, his statue here has fix'd.

CHAPTER LIII.

The Tegeatæ, too, say that they dedicated a statue to Apollo Agyieus on the following account: Apollo and Diana, say they, punished in every region, those who paid no respect to Latona, during her wanderings when she was pregnant with them. When, therefore, these divinities came into the land of the Tegeatæ, Scephrus the son of Tegeates discoursed in secret with Apollo. But Limon, who was one of the sons of Tegeates, began to suspect that this secret conference was nothing more than an accusation of his conduct. In consequence of this he attacked and slew his brother; but being pierced with the arrows of Diana, he suffered the just punishment of the murder which he had committed. Tegeates, however, and Mæra, immediately sacrificed to Apollo and Diana; but a severe famine afterwards ensuing, an oracle was given to them from Delphos, commanding them to bewail Scephrus. Hence, in the festival of Apollo Agyieus, they perform certain ceremonies in honour of Scephrus, and the priestess of Diana pursues a certain person, so as to imitate Diana taking vengeance on Limon. They say, too, that Cydon, Catreus, Archidius, and Gortys, who were the children of Tegeates, voluntarily migrated from these places into Crete, Cydonia, Archidion, and Gortyn; and that the cities Cydonia, Gortyn, and Catrea, were denominated from them. The Cretans, however, do not agree with this account of the Tegeatæ, but assert that Cydon was the son of Mercury and Acacallis the daughter of Minos; but that Catreus was the son of Minos, and Gortys of Rhadamanthus. Homer, indeed, in the discourse between Proteus and Menelaus, says that Menelaus would arrive in the Elysian fields, where Rhadamanthus before this had fixed his residence. But Cinæthon says in his verses, that Rhadamanthus was the son of Vulcan, Vulcan of Talus, and Talus of Cres. The writings of the Greeks, however, differ in most things, and particularly in what relates to genealogy.

But among the Tegeatæ there are four statues of Agyieus, each of which was dedicated by a separate tribe; and the names of these tribes were Clareotis, Hippothoitis, Apolloneatis, Athaneatis. These tribes were thus denominated from the lot respecting the country, which Arcas proposed to his sons, and at the same time from Hippothous the son of Cercyon. There is likewise a temple in Tegea of Ceres and Proserpine, whom they call *fruit-bearing* goddesses. Near this there is a temple of Paphian Venus, which was dedicated by Laodice, whose father, as I have before observed, was Agapenor, who led the Arcadians against Troy, and who dwelt in Paphos. Not far from hence there are two temples of Bacchus, an altar of Proserpine, and a temple of Apollo with a golden image of the god. These were made by Chirisophus the Cretan, whose age and master I am unacquainted with. The long stay, indeed, of Dædalus with Minos at Gnossus, rendered the Cretans renowned for the fabrication of statues. But near Apollo there is a stone statue of Chirisophus. The Tegeatæ, too, have a temple, which they call the common Vesta of the Arcadians. Here there is a statue of Hercules. The statue has a wound in the thigh, which happened from the first contest of Hercules with the sons of Hippocoon. But the more elevated part of the country, in which the Tegeatæ have many altars, is called the place of Jupiter Clarios. It is evident, that this appellation was given to the god from the allotment of the sons of Arcas. Every year the Tegeatæ celebrate a festival in this place: and they say, that the Lacedæmonians once led an army against them while they were celebrating this festival; that the god snowed upon the enemy, who, through the cold, together with their armour, became greatly fatigued; and that they secretly kindled a fire, and being by this means freed from the cold, attacked and conquered the enemy. I likewise saw in Tegea the house of Aleus, the sepulchre of Echemus, and a representation on a pillar of the combat of Echemus with Hyllus. As you proceed from Tegea towards the Laconic land, you will see on the left hand of the road an altar of Pan, and an altar of Lycean Jupiter. The foundations, too, of the temples of these gods yet remain. These altars are about two stadia distant from the walls. Proceeding from hence, at the distance of seven stadia, there is a temple of Diana Limnatis, and in it a statue of ebony. This statue is fabricated after that manner which the Greeks call *Aeginaios*. At the distance of ten stadia from hence there are ruins of a temple of Diana Cnateatis, and of Aleus.

CHAPTER LIV.

The river Alpheus forms the boundaries between the Lacedæmonians and Tegeatæ. This water commences from Phylace; and not far from hence another stream falls into the Alpheus, from fountains which, though not large, are numerous; and on this account the place is called *Sumbola*, or *the confluence*. But the Alpheus appears to possess something different from other rivers; for it often hides itself in the earth, and again rises out of it. Thus it flows from Phylace and Sumbola, and merges itself in the Tegeatic land. Ascending from hence in Asæa, and mingling itself with the water of Eurotas, it falls a second time into the earth, emerges from hence, in that place which the Arcadians call the fountains, and running through the Pisæan and Olympian plains, pours itself into the sea above Cyllene, which is a haven of the Eleans. Nor can the agitation of the Adriatic sea restrain its course: for running through this mighty and violent sea, it mingles itself with the water of Arethusa in Ortygia a Syracusan island, retaining its ancient name Alpheus. In the straight road, too, to Thyrea, and those villages which belong to Thyreatis, there was a sepulchre of Orestes the son of Agamemnon, which deserves to be mentioned: and the Tegeatæ say, that his bones were taken from hence by a Spartan. At present, however, there is no sepulchre of Orestes within the gates. The river Garates flows along this road, which, when you have crossed, and have proceeded to the distance of about ten stadia, you will arrive at a temple of Pan, and a grove near it, which is sacred to the god. But the road to Argos from Tegea is very well adapted for carriages, and is a very public road. In this road there are, first a temple and statue of Æsculapius; and after these, on turning to the left hand, and proceeding to the distance of about one stadium, you will see a temple of Pythian Apollo, the whole of which, however, is nothing but ruins. Along the straight road there are many oaks; and in a grove of oaks there is a temple of Ceres *the helmet-bearer.* Near this there is a temple of Bacchus *the mystic.* From this the mountain Parthenius commences; in which there is a sacred grove of Telephus. They say that Telephus, when a child, was nourished here by a hind. At a little distance from hence there is a temple of Pan. They say, that Pan met Philippides in this place, and said to him what the Athenians relate as well as the Tegeatæ. The mountain Parthenius contains tortoises, adapted in the highest degree to the formation of lyres. The inhabitants, however, are afraid to catch these animals, and will not suffer them to be taken by strangers, because they consider them as sacred to Pan. When you have ascended to the summit of this mountain, you will see in the cultivated plains the boundaries between the Tegeatæ and Argives, just as in the parts about Hysia in Argolis. Such, therefore, are the parts of Peloponnesus, the cities in those parts, and the particulars in each city which are most worthy of commemoration.

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